The Forum

SEPTEMBER, 1921

FAITH AND WORKS AT PRESENT

By MAURICE HEWLETT

A STRAW will show whither the wind blew me. I was the other day at a country meeting, a meeting of protest against something in particular which drifted, as they often do, into protest against things in general; where, one after another, men with hurts to assuage jumped up in their places and uttered harsh cries of injury, sure in every case of the balm of cheers. Local taxation, naturally, had its side-vortex of debate, about and into which many a tempest tossed citizen whirled and threw up arms. There was not so much heat as fine simulation of heat; there was sounding rhetoric none the worse for being familiar; there were appeals to catchwords, flourishings of party banners. One man in particular I observed, a full-moon faced, shining, prosperous man, a true hunter of applause. That was his meat and drink, worth lure after lure. Some tax-gatherer's indiscretion, excess of zeal, Heaven knows what not, made him sure of his audience. It was good to see him leap on his prey, hold it by the neck, shake the cheers out of it. "Gentlemen," he cried, "You know me" (*"We do, we do!"*); "you know me, as maybe

our friend in his country's pay did not. Gentlemen, I am not one of those who turn the other cheek—" but there the assembly rose at him, and drowned his utterance. He had touched all hearts, he was the hero of his moment.

The thing to be remarked was that the speaker was precisely one of those who accepted every Sunday the doctrine, part of which here, on Monday, he so confidently disclaimed. I knew him for a sound and hearty Nonconformist, a buttress of his chapel. Those who heard him were much of his own profession. Yet here he was, not so much denying the teaching of his Master as deriding it—and with no ghost of an idea of what he was doing. The precept of the Gospel had become a signal for the applause of its exact opposite. I have known many a Christian who ignored his doctrine, but I don't recollect that I was ever in a Christian assembly where any point of it had become a standing joke. I don't forget, of course, the eighteenth century, when conformity of public profession was allowed to co-exist with extreme laxity of private opinion. But that was another world. Horace Walpole, George Selwyn, Old Q., with their friends across the channel, Madame du Deffand, the Duc de Choiseul, and the Princesse de Beauvau, were wits as well as sceptics. Nothing is sacred to a wit; and besides, they were safe within the walls of Establishments which would never quarrel with their bread and butter. My friends in council were in a very different position. Largely, they were out because the others remained in. They were protesting the Faith; and by their fruits they must be judged. I am not able to say that their deeds outline their opinions more closely than those of their Anglican and Latin fellow-Christians. Ever since Christianity ceased to be a Way of Life—which was immediately it became a world-belief—the discrepancy between faith and practice has been observable. But it does show how wide is the chasm when, even among those protesting entire adherence to evangelical doctrine, a portion of it should be treated as a comic paradox. I think that that is highly symptomatic.

Faith and Works may have often, possibly always, been at variance. Christianity is a Counsel of Perfection for men who are far from perfect. But Faith has stood, nevertheless, as a kind of staple to which long measure or short could be brought for assay. If that is now to fail, I do not say that the world will cease to be Christian, because it has never yet been so, but that the chance is before us that Christianity itself will fade out.

Probably no body of doctrine with such high professions as were made by Christianity ever became a widespread religious belief. I have called it a Way of Life; it was that, and more; it was an illumination. It was not so much a dispensation which could be codified; it was rather a garment of life which must shift, expand or contract, with life itself. And if it could not be comprised within a formula, neither could it be presented in a symbol. The weakness of symbols and formulas is that they become rapidly outdistanced by life. If they are not constantly renewed, represented, re-translated, they become really without meaning, as the hieratic liturgy of the Eastern Church actually now is, presented in words which the priests and monks themselves often don't understand. Religion on those terms —sacramental, thaumaturgic, mystery-making, emotional, may have a wide appeal. Men may die for it, and kill for it, too. But it cannot be called a Way of Life, still less an illumination. The test of it is "Credo quia impossibile."

But Christendom, with the two ways before it, as we all know, chose for dispensation, formula and symbol. History shows that it then ceased to be a Way of Life for the world in general, though here and there hermits and pious communities maintained it in desert places as some such thing. The discrepancy between Doctrine and Conduct began at that moment of choice, has gone on since, and has never ceased to go on. As no other religion ever made so high a claim, so no other ever fell so far away from the mind and teaching of its founder. Islamism has lapsed in patches, and Buddhism varied from climate to climate; but Chris-

tianity has lapsed as a whole and has never attempted to be literal. The case is singular—so singular that one might think the discrepancy had never been noticed until today. Here, then, you have whole continents, peopled by nations of men who all profess as nations, and mainly as individuals, adherence to a religion, idealistic, pacific, altruistic, enthusiastic; a religion which commands men to love their enemies, bless them that persecute them, do good to them that despitefully use them; which inculcates poverty as a means of grace, inferentially as the only means; which insists upon the negligibility of the things of this world; which posits the Kingdom of Heaven within the heart of man, and can therefore promise inheritance to the meek, joy to the peacemaker, and comfort to the mourner—all this, as I say, for nearly two thousand years upon the lips of nations of men who have never, as nations, for a year together since the voice which enjoined it was still in death—never for one year attempted to observe any of it. Christians have never ceased to make war on each other, never ceased to hate their enemies, never decried the great possessions of this world as nothing worth, never considered the lilies of the field, never turned the other cheek to the smiter, never believed that the Kingdom of Heaven was within them, never seriously considered where it was, if not there. Is not that extraordinary? It would be, if we were not dealing with men.

As the Christianity of Christ has never yet been put to the test it is impossible to say what success it might have had as a Way of Life. The nature of men being what it is, it might easily fail. Is it too hard a saying for those who profess it that it should at least be tried? Could it not with probability be said that whatever kind of failure it might make of life, it could not by any possibility make a worse failure than we have made of life without it? I think that might certainly be said. Not only is humanity going to pieces, but religion is going with it. The universal complaint goes up that the churches are emptying and the divorce courts filling (to name only those); and it is a fair

inference that if people were more conscious of the tie which binds them to each other in religion they would be less impatient of that which binds them to each other in life. The Way of Life which Christ offered to the world was fairly a Career; but the world, having other careers then in being or in prospect, declined to exchange them, sought rather to accommodate incompatibles, with the striking results which we see about us. Marriage, on the other hand, was never intended to be a career, though it might have helped to make one of religion.

The failure of marriage is a much less serious thing for the world than the renegation of the Laws of Being which we can remark on every hand. I need not, I hope, enlarge upon them, the common lot of the whole of creation, so far as we know it. Nothing that comes into the world can escape the obligation of Work, Love, and Procreation; but, if just now men are not evading those duties, then two *plus* two do not make four. To what are Labor troubles due but to evasion of the law to work by the men, of the law to love by the masters? To what else was the recent hideous war due? To what else are you to ascribe the new post-bellum attitude of nearly all the peoples lately engaged in scientific and wholesale murder? The late war made a ghastly wound in the social fabric; but not a clean wound. Instead, a moral gangrene seems to be eating into the very bones of human kind. For those and all such miseries the religion of Christ offers a remedy, at least as much entitled to a trial as Soviet Government in Russia, English Government (to call it so) in Ireland, French handling of beaten Germany, American handling of workmen and negroes. That teaching is to be found in a book which is professed by millions of people as infallible and of divine origin. Officially it is held to be so by all the nations which will not test it by experience. This is an extraordinary position of things. Crystallization of dogma seems to have reached its term.

I have said that Christ's teaching has never been followed, His way of life never attempted. That is true of nations, with which, so far, I have been dealing. Obviously it is not true of individuals, nor altogether so of groups of individuals. Groups have attempted it: Cathari, Patterini, Franciscans, Hussites, Wycliffites, Albigenses, Friends of God, Port-Royalists, Doukhobors, and suchlike. Most of them have failed owing to internal weakness, and the nature of men; some, like the Albigenses, have been crushed out or worn down by the hostility of governments. One only, English in origin, has endured for three hundred years. That is a group large enough to be called something else. It does not claim to be a church, and calls itself the Society of Friends. By a term of mockery, now become one of affection, men outside call it the Quakers.

Founded by George Fox, an uninstructed man illuminated by close and literal reading of the Gospels, outliving both a time of persecution and one of moral collapse, that Society has presented to the world for three hundred and more years the nearest approach to the Christ-like way of life which has ever been known. It is based upon neighborly love, is strictly pacific, in the face of Government it is quietist. It is without formulary or sacrament. So far, the likeness is exact. It does not, however, observe the counsel of Poverty, and is in no real sense communistic. In those two points, and in the fact that it has not been zealous to proselytize, it falls short of the teaching of Jesus Christ. But essentially it resembles that teaching in being an enthusiasm, an illumination, and a Way of Life where permeation of body by spirit is complete both in the particular and in the whole. Its doctrine is idealistic and undogmatic. It comes not to destroy, but to fulfil. It is not, as Mr. Carl Heath says in a recent pamphlet,* a "sect obsessed with a theory of its own exclusive wisdom"; it is "no creed which alone brings salvation." "Whatever else it is,"

* "Quaker Thought in International Service," by Carl Heath (Friends' Council for International Service).

he goes on to say, "it is always a movement of spiritual seekers holding out hands of fellowship to all who search for God, for Light and Truth, and for that way of life where men can love God wholeheartedly and their fellows as themselves."

So much for that. What is now extremely noteworthy is that, since the late war began, the Society of Friends has broken down the defenses which screened it from the world, and definitely ranged itself in Europe as a Christian body with work to do correspondent with the faith which it holds. With no bridge-making to be done, with no gulf between Belief and Conduct, the Quakers of America and Britain, ever since the Armistice, have been steadily at work throughout Europe, and particularly in Germany and Austria, mending the fortunes of broken people, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, showing forth Goodwill among men who of late years have shown forth none of their own. From reports delivered at a meeting held this month, I learn that in Germany something like a million children are being fed, and that in Vienna and the Provinces "the largest number of children helped at any one time has been seventy thousand." Of the sum of their activities at large I have nothing before me but accounts of expenditure. From these I learn that the American Friends' Service Committee has spent during the year June, 1919-June, 1920:—

> In France, $190,000; in Germany, $2,761,000, in Serbia, $57,777, in Austria, $18,881; in Armenia, $3,871.

The English Friends' Committee has spent in the year—

> In France, £117,123; in Russia, £33,276; in Austria, £313,354; in Poland, £86,432; in Germany, £106,956; in Serbia, £1,607—

altogether, with expenses of administration, material, and allowances to other funds, six hundred and ninety-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three pounds.

These figures tell their own story; and if we call the work which they represent "loving our enemies", as we well may, it is not what they would call it; for they say that it takes two to make a quarrel, and that Quakers quar-

rel with no sons of men. The matter for the concern of Christendom is that it is a work which I believe I am right in saying no other church, no other society of Christian people, as such, is doing. What individual adherents to one church or another may be at, is not now to the purpose. The point upon which I must insist is that, professing the doctrine of Christ, they keep it, as it were, in an airtight compartment, not only unspotted from the world, but with no chance of braving any spots at all. As churches, all of them are infected with the dread of importing the affairs of the world into church—a disastrous dichotomy (giving life two lobes, as if it were a brain) of which the Church of England is the most notorious upholder.

What has happened? What is the meaning of all this? To account for it is entirely beyond my powers which only enable me to report it. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and if it has so far wafted the secret of Christ into one small society of men only, there is, I suppose, nothing to do but to "wait still upon God." Meantime, in the place of Love toward men, upon which the whole Evangel is founded, the nations of the world are waiting still upon Hate toward them. Christian Irish still murder Christian English, and English Irish. Russians, having broken down a tyranny which levied war on one class, have set up in its place a tyranny which wars upon another class. The French, having broken the Germans, hate and fear them more than before. The Turks still massacre the Armenians, the Greeks whatever Turks they can get at. Masters and Men have learned nothing by a war which at least showed all men equal in fortune, except to grudge each other their share in it. The very water drinkers cannot drink their water without having their stomachs turned by the thought of the wine other men are drinking. Alone in creation, it seems, humanity preys upon its own kind. That is where we are in 1921, that year of Our Lord. In the background hangs Christ on the Cross who died that Love might prevail.

THE BIRTH RATE AND WEATHER

By Dr. A. Magelssen

THE problems of repopulation—birth rate, birth control—are among the most vital in the world to-day. After the ravages of war, a new world has to be practically rebuilt, and the manpower wherewith to do it is all-important. No wonder that a continued decrease in the birth rate causes unparalleled alarm in some countries, and finds expression in repopulation campaigns and anti-birth control legislation.

Unfortunately most of the campaigns start out from a wrong conception of things. The general tendency is to ascribe modern couples' reluctance to have children to lax morals, love of luxury, etc., or else to economic conditions which make a large family a too heavy burden upon a man. It does not seem to occur to those who lead these very vital campaigns that human beings, in the mass, are not responsible for manifestations such as birth, sickness and death, which, on the contrary, are subject to the same fundamental forces of nature as plants or animals. After the farmer has done his share to produce a rich crop of corn, his work may come to nothing because of a sudden frost, a long dry spell, or a super-abundance of rain. In the same way, the fecundity of human beings is affected by forces of nature, even though the relationship is not as obviously direct.

If morals are bad to-day they have been equally bad, if not worse, in the past. Yet the population of the world increased to such an extent that the bogey of over-population was frequently paraded before the war. At that time sociologists and students of economy claimed the world

would soon be unable to feed its all too numerous inhabitants.

This alone should prove that neither social nor economic conditions affect to any vital degree such fundamental manifestations of life as birth or death. For centuries Malthusian doctrines have been preached and practiced by certain classes of people the world over. For centuries their influence on the masses has been an infinitely small one. Civilization and birth rate are not fundamentally related but are independent of each other. The secret of birth and death is not to be found in social or economic fluctuations but in the relation between the forces of nature and human life.

To fathom these forces of nature, not only the present, but the past should be studied. Modern science with its specialization and attention to details may here lead us astray, make us, in our attentiveness to the immediate, lose sight of the long rhythms and vibrations which determine all manifestations of life. Past centuries should not be picked apart under a microscope, but welded together as by a powerful macroscope which would give that panoramic view in which one could trace the currents of life. Those who so deplore the present decrease in the birth rate seem to forget the existence of what one might call "world rhythm"—this ceaseless ebb and flow in all biological fields, entirely independent of human will, which maintains the order of the universe. Everything living—plants, animals, man—bears the imprint of this continual, though often irregular, rise and fall in development, health, mortality, birth, disease. This rhythm is the safety valve of the universe, and its manifestations should not cause apprehension. Its ceasing, only, should be a cause of anxiety.

Instead of holding the population of a country responsible for biological phenomena, such as the birth rate, for instance, the relations of these to the forces of the universe should be studied. The forces of nature are manifest in everything, but we can measure them best when, in the shape of what we call "the weather," they make up the atmosphere in which we live and to which we must adapt ourselves.

The material we have to work with in making such researches is, at the present time, extremely limited. Meteorological records more or less perfectly kept, and more or less available, are about all we have. But even so, results obtained show a most undoubted relationship between the forces of nature as expressed in atmospherical factors, and biological phenomena as manifested in human life.

As a starting point for the study of the relationship of the birth rate to the weather, or meteorological conditions, the temperature may be used. The temperature is only one of the many atmospherical factors that have a determining influence on human life, but it has been more carefully recorded than dampness, for instance, and for a greater length of time, so that we have more documents to work with. It also has a greater and more evident effect on plant and animal life than any other force of the atmosphere. A comparison of birth rate and temperature (which is but a single factor) does not show an *absolute* relationship between the weather and biological phenomena, but it does show a relationship sufficiently marked to authorize the assumption that absolute relationship could be proved if we had sufficient documents at hand in regard to other atmospherical forces.

Although changes of temperature may, in some cases, have an immediate effect on the human organism (occasioning colds, sunstrokes, etc.), their influence is generally of a more gentle and insidious character, but none the less powerful. Their effects do not cease with the last day of the year. The chemical changes in glands and cells, called forth or held in reserve during the course of the year, accumulate or increase if the temperature of a second year, for instance, is similar to that of the one before; while a different temperature during the second year may counteract the influences of the first. Furthermore certain organisms and organs (secretive glands, nerve tissues, etc.) react more rapidly and efficaciously to the stimulus of the weather than others. It should be remembered also that the effects

of the temperature may accumulate for years and affect the vitality of an entire generation. The birth rate of to-day is to a certain extent the result of the atmospheric conditions which surrounded the former generation, increasing or diminishing fecundity of the parents. More directly, it is the result of the weather of the last few years.

In order to study the influence of the weather on human life, new methods must be used. I have obtained very excellent results by what might be called the method of "successive additions."

The starting point for the study of the temperature and its influence on the birth rate is not the absolute "observed" meteorological record, but a record of the swerving of temperature from the "normal"—that is to say, the difference between the "normal" and "actual" temperatures. In other words, a winter much milder than normal would be registered as increasing temperature (even though it might be cold) and a summer colder than normal would be registered as decreasing temperature (even though the thermometer might be relatively high). For it should be remembered that "extremes" of temperature have more effect than "averages."

If the values of temperature obtained in this way are inscribed on millimeter paper and added together by two, three or four years, as the case may be, the result is a series of curves expressing the fluctuations in temperature grouped for one, two, three, four or five years. These curves (and the tables established according to the same method) show that the effect of a very mild winter or a very hot summer may be traced for many years, and the same is true of a cold summer or a hard winter.

In comparing the birth rate and temperature, the values for each year, for summer, for winter, for groups of three summer or winter months, and finally for each month, must be used. Curves obtained in this way must be compared with the birth rate curves for the corresponding years.

At the present stage of investigation it would seem as if the birth rate increases according to the increase of tem-

perature, but cold periods of the year determine greater or lesser fecundity according to whether they are much colder than normal, or offset or not by the warmth of the summer months.

In places where the climate is, generally speaking, cool, as in Stockholm for instance, the birth rate is almost a replica of the curve of temperature based on the coldest and hottest months. In Berlin, the birth rate seems to respond to the general average temperature based on the coldest and hottest months. In Berlin, the birth rate seems to respond to the general average temperature of the year, as increased or not by a hot summer. In Paris, the six winter months seem decisive in determining the birth rate, and of the six the last quarter of the year (October, November and December) seems the most decisive.

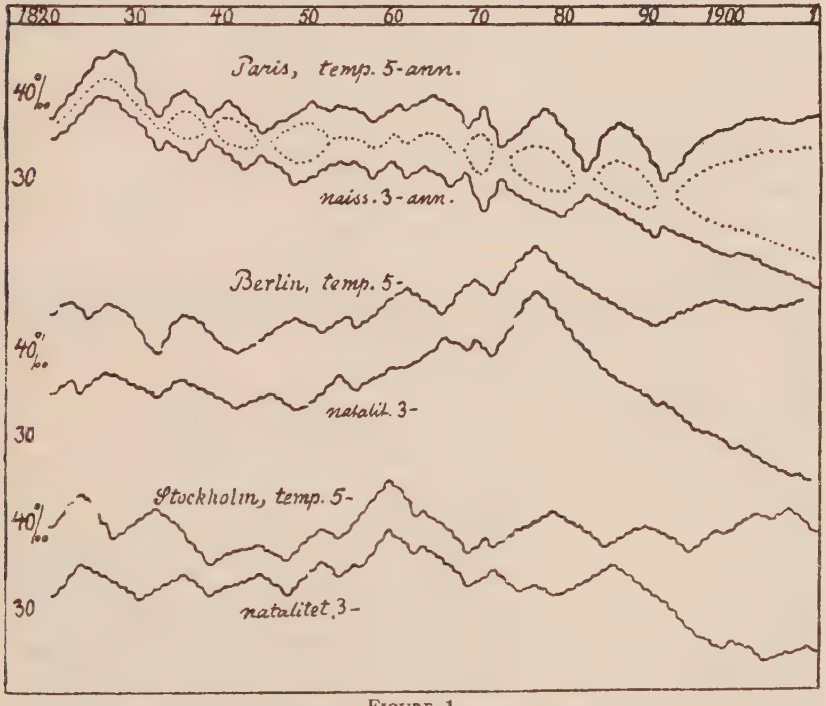

FIGURE 1.

Upper curves register the temperature for the cities of Paris, Berlin and Stockholm from the year 1820 to 1910.

Lower curves register the birth rate for the same cities during the same period.

In studying the birth rate and temperature curves, an

absolute similarity is not found. But a very mathematical relationship exists. It will be seen that whether the birth curve follows or opposes that of the temperature, the two phenomena follow the same general rhythm and are ruled by the same fluctuations.

In looking at the curves from Paris, Berlin and Stockholm (the only cities where I have been able to obtain sufficient meteorological data, so far), it will be noticed that to the highest temperature corresponds the highest birth rate; to a sinking temperature, a sinking birth rate; and to a rising temperature, a rising birth rate. From 1820 to 1890 there is a very marked and close connection in all three cities between birth rate and temperature. If the last two decades in all places show a marked divergence, it would be wrong to conclude that the mathematical relationship has been broken. In the future it will undoubtedly be seen that this divergence, like those of the past, is well defined and ordered.

When sufficient meteorological material shall have been assembled and put to judicious use, the secret of the relationship between life and the forces of the universe will be proved.

It must not be forgotten that the laws of nature do not change, and that human beings are the same, fundamentally, the world over, and always have been. Malthusian practices, now blamed for the birth decrease, have been employed for thousands of years, and can scarcely therefore be held responsible for the discrepancy in the last two decades. It would be strange, too, that their effects should be so similar in the three capitals.

The truth of the matter is that biological phenomena, like the birth rate, are but mirrors of the rhythm of the universe. No nation, in regard to the birth rate, has a right to consider itself superior to its neighbor. The lowering birth rate of the last twenty years can undoubtedly be traced to the steadily sinking temperature. But by the very law of the rhythm of the universe, this temperature will rise again, and with it the fecundity of the population.

RADICALISM IN OUR COLLEGES

By EDWARD G. RIGGS

TO my way of thinking, truth demands the admission that, although Harvard is superior to most colleges, she is not meeting the situation as she should. The college man is altogether too little interested in the life the fundamentals of which he is supposed to be learning. Elections come and go; international complications arise and blow over; a great book is written—and as far as most of us are concerned, these events might just as well not have happened. Now and then, of course, a tremendous happening such as the great War occurs and does produce a mighty stir among us. But the ordinary things of life, the ordinary matters of importance, are simply beyond the ken of the average undergraduate.

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Discussion groups and forums have been tried and failed miserably. Lectures seem to draw only when the speaker is picturesque or so prominent that to be absent will bring the suggestion of having "missed it." There can be no doubt as to the conclusion. Harvard undergraduates are simply not interested in the things which interest them directly after commencement. —William S. Holbrook, Jr., Class Orator of the Senior Class at Harvard, June, 1921.

There is a spirit of unrest, of discontent, of extravagance, of idleness, of expected perfection, and impatience when we should remember that perfection and success are not immediately within one's grasp.

There has developed out of this a noisy effort by a relatively small number of people to upset and dislocate the established order of things and to "Fly to evils that we know not of."

What are called Radicalism, Socialism, Sovietism, and Bolshevism are advocated, and too many people who should know better lend a receptive ear to those foolish, yet dangerous, doctrines and thus encourage the ignorant, the thoughtless and the wicked.

In schools, colleges and even in our beloved Harvard, there is some of this atmosphere, and it is disturbing many of the best friends of education and progress in the country.

In giving young people their physical nourishment we do not spread before them every kind of food and say, "Eat what you like whether it agrees with you or not." We know that the physical machine can absorb only a certain amount and that all else is waste and trash, with the result that bodies are poisoned and weakened.

In giving mental nourishment, why lay before young and impressionable men and women un-American doctrines and ideas that take mental time and energy from the study and consideration of the great fundamentals and eternal truths, fill the mind with unprofitable mental trash which, with some, result only in sewing the seeds of discontent and unrest? And which can result only in absolute life failure, spiritual and material.

Take the case of a young woman endowed with a marvelous voice and ambitious to be a prima donna in grand opera. If she attempts to train herself or receives her instruction and inspiration from those who have a half-knowledge of the great science of music, with little experience in the musical world, she will fail. The only way she can obtain the highest success within the time at her disposal is to place herself in the hands of the best and most experienced musical masters.

Just so with young men and young women who, through false teachings, are carried away with the doctrines of Socialism and Bolshevism.

After they get into the real world it takes them considerable time to become convinced that certain laws controlling social and material affairs are as unchangeable as the law of gravitation, and some never learn it; that in many instances they have wasted their time on studies that are of no use and have been taken off their feet by altruistic theories based on false idealism and a bastard materialism.—Howard Elliott, C. E., L.L. D., former President of the Northern Pacific Railway Company and of The New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company, Overseer of Harvard and formerly President of The Alumni Association of Harvard University;—from the address of Mr. Elliott to his Class of 1881, University Club, Boston, June 22, 1921.

Mr. Holbrook in his Harvard Class utterance will be credited with stating a situation of very real interest to the country. When he adds that the lectures at Harvard draw only when the speaker is picturesque he, perhaps unconsciously, suggests a remedy; and I am to enjoy the privilege, after talks with many in financial and business life, to attempt to point a way to either minimize or to meet favorably the so-called radicalism in our colleges. Mr. Elliott suggests a remedy which has received wide commendation, but on the other hand, not a few in the business world have

suggested another line of procedure. Mr. Elliott has had vast experience in financial and railroad life. Contrary to the accepted belief, he was a poor boy in college. During vacations he worked on various railroads as a level rodman, a very humble civil engineering place and his wages were fifteen dollars a month and "grub"—the phrase of that day. He has become one of the powers in the railroad world, and is a publicist and writer of distinction on subjects affecting the welfare of our country. I feel, though, that there should be free speech to the limit in our universities and colleges and free intercourse of ideas. My experience as a newspaper man impressed me with the thought that it is idle to attack the mental antics of college students, idle to attack their radicalism—these are always the qualities of immaturity. There are those who believe that the radical propaganda which is being worked in our colleges and universities, together with a mild Bolshevism in art, science, religion, economics and sociology, are driving through American traditions and landmarks of our race of students, and that these are assisted by professors and clergymen whose thinking has been dislocated by unsound, even ignorant, subversive influences in theology and sociology.

The stone-wall fact remains, however, that Intercollegiate Liberal Leagues are established in nearly all of our colleges, the purpose evidently being to give students the thrill of believing that they are taking part in the beginning of a great new movement comparable even to the winning of our national independence or the abolition of slavery. It is well known that facts are seldom picturesque; fancy invariably is. Facts are apt to dull the imagination, while distortion stimulates it.

From the foundation of our country there has been a class of college students who must have mental recreation or, as it were, a vent. In former days this vent took the shape of savage discussions on theology, on the various religious sects of the country, pre-destination, hell-fire and eternal damnation, natural selection, Brahmanism, Buddhism, de-

bates on all the great religions of the world, the good and bad of the French Revolution, ditto the English Reformation. Then came fierce talks over mathematics, and natural phenomena. Later on came wine and beer parties, and still later came the theatrical bombardments of favorite musical comedy heroines, quite a number of elopements with favorite chorus girls, interspersed by the era of athletics. All these portrayed the natural, perhaps unconscious hunger of immaturity for a vent. The brain and tongue must have a regular vent or random explosions come. Nations, like individuals, must have a vent. Our volcanoes are the earth's vent. Better not cap a vent. Young men in the first exhilarating months of intellectual freedom are being seized with promissory doctrines, the source and consequences of which they do not see. There is a natural rebelliousness of youth, which promises progress; there is a natural venturesomeness to play free with ancient faiths; both of which are ebullitions of the spirit and significant of dawning mental virility. It is during the periods when these adolescent expansions are in process that the youth is captured by influences which deliberately lie in wait for him in the colleges. True, in after years a large proportion come to their senses sufficiently to be able "to sit on the fence and see themselves go by," and they come back to sanity. They find that "free love" doctrines make exhilarating club topics, but that the Family—the genesis, foundation, keystone and arch of a strong nation —the old-fashioned loyalty of one man and one woman to each other and their children is the basis, not only of society, but of all personal character and progress. They find that Revolution, while a delightful subject for fiery debates and an excellent stimulant in the feeling of supermanlikeness, is nevertheless not the process of progress.

Miss Patty S. Hill, of the Teachers' College, New York City, in a recent address at Detroit, stated: "It is worse to have germs on the mind than on the body." What is the remedy for removing these germs of radicalism from the minds of our university and college students?

The Intercollegiate Liberal Leagues in our colleges are a new effort in student activities, organized at the Harvard Union several months ago. The conference attending the formation of these leagues was explained to represent an expression of the aspirations of a great number of college students to participate more actively than formerly in the activities of their generation. The purpose of the conference was to bring together men and women from the various colleges with a view to founding an intercollegiate liberal organization whose scope shall be national, and whose aim shall be to cultivate an informal and open-minded attitude on the part of the students toward social, industrial and political questions.

This was the first spontaneous movement of the kind in the United States. Its importance was illustrated by the fact that at least twenty-three colleges were represented. These included practically all of the large universities of the East, as well as theological institutions and smaller colleges.

The credit of bringing together this convention was chiefly due to the work of the students of Harvard and Radcliffe. They secured some of the most prominent liberals in the country as speakers, as well as men who are recognized as among the foremost educators. Among those who addressed the conference were Dean L. B. R. Briggs of Harvard, Walter Lippman of the *New Republic,* President-Emeritus Eliot, of Harvard, Senator Ladd of North Dakota, John Haynes Holmes, head of the Community Church, and President H. N. MacCracken of Vassar. J. P. Batdorf, '21, represented Wesleyan at this conference, the result of which will undoubtedly be the securing of several prominent speakers on economics to appear before the colleges from time to time.

Mr. C. H. Holmes, a Harvard alumnus, speaking of that conference at the Harvard Union, said:

"During the last few years Harvard, as well as most other universites and colleges, has solicited her graduates and people at large to subscribe to an endowment fund for

the purpose of insuring living salaries for her professors and instructors. My own small subscription represented the limit of my ability to help support an institution from which I have always been proud to have been graduated, and to further a movement that seemed vital to the future education in this country. I had no intention of helping support a Rand School.

"The study of liberalism is one thing, but for an institution chartered and helped by the state, and so a quasi arm of the government, to encourage theorists whose one intelligible common aim is to break down the existing order of things, seems hardly ethical. Do we commonly give our support to men whom we know to be continually knocking us—constantly plotting for our undoing?

"The Rev. John Haynes Holmes advises the students, forsooth, that the way to amount to something 'is to identify themselves to the limit with the labor world.' Why a higher education at all if labor is the only thing? If we all pump the organ who will play? Russia today is a beautiful example of a performance by workers alone.

"Harry W. Laidler wants to resist all attempts 'to muzzle professors.' And why not 'muzzle' people who are biting the hand that feeds them?

"Read over the list of speakers and then tell me if I am not warranted in asking whether the authorities of a college to which I owe much and to which I have hoped to send my boy, indorsed these ultra radicals by officially offering them a forum and encouraging them in their propaganda."

I asked Mr. Edward Grant Buckland, alumnus of Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, formerly Professor of Law at Yale, for an expression of opinion on this question of radicalism in our universities and colleges, and especially as to the comments of Mr. Holbrook on the indifference of many college students as to what is going on in our colleges, and Mr. Buckland was good enough to say:

"The basis of my comment on this subject is a paraphrase of a saying which Edmund Burke once made, 'I have con-

fidence in the ultimate common sense of the English people.' Modernizing that and using as my text: I have confidence in the ultimate common sense of college undergraduates, I say this deliberately after an almost continuous knowledge of undergraduate sentiment at Yale for more than thirty years, and an intimate connection with the undergraduate body during a considerable period of that time.

"The average college man wishes to think straight, but he believes, and so do I, that straight thinking comes not through coddling, but as a result of a knowledge of the facts and an interplay of argument based upon it. The undergraduate has always wished to know all sides of a proposition. Today he demands it more than ever because he has seen and in many instances shared personally in the world upsets during and following the war, and he is eager to know whether there is any new rule by which society may live and prosper more than that which resulted in the horrible travesty enacted between 1914 and 1918. Advantage has been taken of this state of mind among people generally, and among undergraduate students particularly, by propagandists, some of whom are sincere though mischievous, and others who are both mischievous and insincere. Generally they are plausible in their arguments and rather fascinating in the presentation of their subjects. If they are not permitted to present them they will claim that freedom of speech is abridged.

"Now my theory is just this: College authorities should allow the utmost freedom of speech so long as it is within the well-recognized limits of decency and loyalty, but they should recognize that propagandists are likely to communicate a mental infection to their listeners for which an antitoxin should be provided. Therefore, wherever a propagandist presents arguments of this sort he should be made to understand that he must make good his argument against men of equal ability presenting the other side, and the student should be privileged to hear either contemporaneously with, or immediately after the propagandist, a presentation

by a person of equal ability and of equal facility of speech and personal magnetism.

"Right here comes a real difficulty. The average lecturer uses such technical phrases that the undergraduate loses interest. With all our boasted teaching of English in universities, college men, as a class, do not express themselves with the directness or the clarity with which the average soap-box orator expresses himself on the street corner. Most of our so-called English teaching is not a teaching of the English language, but is a teaching of historical English literature, which is a very different thing. It is not so essential that my son should know what Macbeth thought when he first saw Macduff, as it is that he should be able to convey orally or by written word his thought in clear and forceful English. To meet these propagandists, therefore, I would seriously suggest that the colleges cultivate in their English classes an expression of vernacular. Call it for want of a better term, a class in soap box oratory, by which students will be able to meet and refute in like language the arguments which the Pinks and Reds and Bolsheviki are continually presenting. In the meantime present to these students in the vernacular a picture of how these theories have worked among peoples in by-gone days, and show them that from the time of the Children of Israel, and farther back for all I know, there have been repeated attempts to get people to work together and contribute all they produced to a common treasury; that each time it has failed for the simple reason that there was no penalty visited upon the idler, the slacker, or the spendthrift, and no reward for the industrious, the initiative and the thrifty. Tell them the experiment would have worked in the Plymouth Colony if anywhere, and that it utterly failed there in two or three years. Read them the reasons why in the quaint language of that day.

"Socialism, the eight-hour day, the Plumb Plan, and many other ideas are being presented to the world in the thought that they are new, when, in fact, they are old, discredited, and discarded theories, as the history of society

will easily demonstrate. As to these theories I have no fear that the college undergraduate will think straight, talk straight, and act straight when he has heard all sides, and that he will be stronger than one who has been shielded from the propagandists. If, as has sometimes happened, an instructor is found who persists in teaching this sort of thing, if I were in authority in a college, I would not demand his resignation, but by a presentation of the facts to the students show the utter absurdity of his arguments through the means which I have just outlined, and make him so ridiculous and so uncomfortable that he would rather be anywhere else than in the class or lecture room.

"It is nonsense to say that the colleges of this country are not at least as able as the propagandists, if they will only take a little pains and exercise a little ingenuity to devise ways and means of meeting this propaganda. In this way we shall hear less of the rumor that colleges are pink and becoming red, and more of what is the fact that the colleges are the repositories of straight living, straight thinking and straight acting."

In my opinion Mr. Buckland advances a very real, a downright practical remedy, to offset the teachings of the propagandists of radicalism. Let me go a little further in that direction. In the vernacular of the day, we should have from the outside world public speakers and writers to contradict by counterproof the type of speaker now infesting our colleges as propagandists and who are known in the outside world as "Chaw-Mouths" and "Hell-Roaring Jakes." I have noticed that many of the radical propagandists use rather strong, sometimes vitriolic language. The gentlemen I am to name as factors in a suggested remedy would not demean themselves by such utterances, for they know full well that good nature and good sense are usually companions. Moreover, many of these alumni recall the words of Demosthenes—"To find fault, someone may say is easy, and in every man's power; but to point out the proper course to be pursued in the present circumstances, that is

the proof of a wise counselor." And the gentlemen I am to name could be very wise counselors in these rather disturbed college conditions.

I suggest that the anti-radicals should have speakers to attend our colleges and use the language so familiar to the man on the street. They should have practical financial and business experience in order to be able to point out the fallacies advanced by the radical propagandists. Men in this very material business and professional world are usually measured by their merits; their talents to accomplish practical results, their real powers of productivity. In this connection, I am reminded of placards I recently saw tacked to the walls of a university town which read, "Motormen get sixty cents an hour, professors eighteen cents an hour." I can easily recall a little incident when Herr Lasker, Socialist, spoke recently in a lecture to the undergraduates of Yale. His topic was the Plumb Plan to govern the railroads. As he proceeded it was patent to all that Herr Lasker knew little or nothing whatever of the effects, if put in operation, of the Plumb Plan on the fifty-five millions of our people who are directly or indirectly, through work and investments, interested in the railroads of our country; even upon the advocates of the Plumb Plan. Finally, questioned by Mr. Buckland, Herr Lasker broke down and admitted that he knew absolutely nothing of the practical workings of the proposed plan.

I am very glad to note that within the last several years, since the foundation of the Boston Trade Union College, the list of similar institutions has grown long. Arthur Gleason's pamphlet on workers' education, dated June twenty-fifth, describes the Trade Union College of Washington, D. C., the Workers' College of Seattle, and the Rochester Labor College, founded in 1919; and the Baltimore Labor Class, the Philadelphia Trade Union College, the Pittsburgh Trade Union College, the Workers' University of Cleveland, the Workers' College of Minneapolis, and the St. Paul Labor College, dating from 1920. In addition,

there must be mentioned the classes of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the workers' classes in small Pennsylvania cities, the Amherst classes, and schools with a special foundation, like one for Finnish workers in Duluth. About ten thousand American workers are now regularly studying in their own higher institutions. Many will regret, probably, the organization of these labor colleges on the ground that they tend to the education of a class when it is the plain intent of the polity of Americanism to do away with classes of our citizens in order to make the nation completely democratic. Many contend that we are a nation of racial eddies, that there is no real melting pot, that our many different races do not intermingle or intermarry. This may be true to a certain extent in a social way but as a nation we are one gigantic mass of Americans, and this was amply demonstrated in the great War. Many wise men who have written and thought of our affairs as a nation deprecate any step in the direction of racial exclusiveness, or class restrictions or domination. We do not want an oligarchy of labor any more than we want an oligarchy of capital, and the higher education of our people should be in the direction of a merging of all interests, economic, financial and social, for the benefit of the entire nation.

I have in mind a plan which would carry further the basis of Mr. Buckland's thought as to rebuttal argument of the college radical propagandist. Glance over the list of overseers of Harvard, the trustees of the University of Chicago, the regents of the University of Wisconsin, the trustees of Columbia University, the fellows of Yale University, the overseers of Williams College, the trustees of Cornell University, the trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and the trustees of the Leland Stanford University. I have selected these lists as representing territorially the great college thought of our country. Among these gentlemen are physicians, lawyers, financiers, railroad executives, judges, statesmen, engineers, merchants, manufacturers, real estate men and newspaper editors, business men,

capitalists, surgeons, publicists, coal operators, geologists, all familiar with the practical workings of life, all busy men, all interested hourly and daily in the great rivalries of business and professional life. All are men of keen intelligence, many are very excellent speakers, quite a number are writers of renown, and all have made their mark in the great world and made it through understanding the practicalities of the great world, not only in this country, but in foreign countries. Take the overseers of Harvard, as an instance. Among them are Mr. John Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Howard Elliott, and Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, who could explain to the students at Harvard Union the real truth about the fundamentals and the practical workings of finance and railroads and constituent subjects. Mr. Harold F. McCormick and Mr. Julius Rosenwald could do the same for the students of the University of Chicago. Mr. Walter J. Kohler could speak to the students of the University of Wisconsin. Mr. William Barclay Parsons, Mr. M. Hartley Dodge, Mr. A. Barton Hepburn, and Mr. Robert S. Lovett could do the same for Columbia University. Mr. Charles Hopkins Clark, Mr. Otto T. Bannard, and Mr. Howell Cheney could do the same for Yale. Mr. Alfred C. Chapin, Mr. Hale Holden and Mr. Solomon B. Griffin could do the same for Williams. Mr. Ira A. Place, Mr. Robert H. Treman, and Mr. Charles M. Schwab could do the same for Cornell. Mr. Edward Townsend Stotesbury and Mr. Joseph E. Widener could do the same for the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Joseph Donohue Grant and Mr. Frank Bartow Anderson could do the same for Leland Stanford. And I could name many other gentlemen who are interested in the university and college life of our country who could give the students the facts as to the workings of fundamental and practical financial and business life, and in this list are Mr. Otto H. Kahn, Mr. Samuel Rea, Mr. Edward J. Pearson, and Mr. Paul M. Warburg, and men of that type who are good writers and excellent speakers. One couldn't very well imagine the gentlemen I have mentioned

and others whom I have in mind as becoming "Chaw-Mouths" or "Hell-Roaring Jakes." Nevertheless, they could meet the theoretical and very often ignorant propagandists of radicalism on their own ground and overcome them by their real, fine, high, practical knowledge of world affairs. This treatment would be rather homeopathic, *similia similibus,* or better still, as Mr. Buckland puts it, antitoxin, but it would be very effective, I believe. I am not advocating the suppression of the propagandists or the dismissal of misguided and recalcitrant professors. I am the stoutest advocate of free speech. Our magazines and newspapers, in the free discussion of all subjects affecting the welfare of the country, have done mighty service for the good of the people; and I believe the same service could be performed for our undergraduates if the gentlemen I have named and others whom I have in mind could give of their very valuable time to contradict in the Harvard Union and elsewhere the theories and fallacies which are misleading our undergraduates.

These gentlemen know the world as it has been for a thousand years, as it is, as it promises to be for the next few generations, if not for the next thousand years; and they have made great success from every standpoint in world affairs. They would be listened to intently and the indifference of students at lectures of which Dr. Holbrook speaks would give place to an enlightened and keen interest. And the graduates of our universities and colleges would not have so much to unlearn when they got out into the busy, practical, work-a-day world.

ZIONISM—A JUST CAUSE

By SAMUEL UNTERMYER

BEFORE dealing with the article on Zionism, signed in the name of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, I should like to make a brief comment upon the editorial note that preceded it and which explained its publication. This note referred to the recent controversy within the Zionist Organization of America respecting the method of raising funds for the development of Palestine, and said that this event "suggests the advisability of re-appraising the Zionistic conception itself."

I am at a loss to understand how a purely domestic difference of opinion between ardent Zionists on a question of method of expenditures can suggest the advisability of reappraising the underlying principle upon which both sides to the dispute are agreed and which both are enthusiastically championing. I presume that some pretext had to be found for publishing so late in the day an attack upon a Jewish movement that has won world-wide sympathy and attained international sanction. I may also observe that the issue at the Cleveland Zionist Convention is seriously—though doubtless unwittingly—misrepresented by the gentleman.

It is not a fact that Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, "refused to grant representation to the American branch on the financial committee which is to control the money." Such representation was in fact freely tendered as were other comprehensive rights for safeguarding the funds, which were pronounced by the leaders satisfactory, the details of which were reduced to writing. As Mr. Morgenthau has had no connection with Zionist affairs and knows nothing about the negotiations,

he has fallen an easy prey to baseless rumors. What Dr. Weizmann objected to, and rightly, was that the American Organization, which is affiliated with and holds allegiance to the World Organization, should control the funds raised in the United States as elsewhere for the development of Palestine. If the demand of the American officials in this respect had been conceded, all the other Federations of the World Organization would have claimed a similar privilege, with the result that there would be a multiplicity of money-spending agencies in Palestine, without any unity or central control, and with the concomitant waste and disorganization, and the Zionist headquarters would be reduced to a mere shadow. Dr. Weizmann did not appeal to "the Russian-Polish Jews in the Convention" but to all the delegates without exception, and the fact that more than two-thirds of those present at this specially called Convention gave him their support is a sufficient indication of the views and sentiments of the great majority of Zionists in America. Nobody regrets more than I that Justice Brandeis, Judge Mack, and their friends in council should have resigned their offices; but they have declared that they continue loyal and enthusiastic Zionists, as one would expect from men of their characters and convictions and hence their resignations cannot in any way justify Mr. Morgenthau's later lucubration, or serve as an excuse for the renewal of the ancient attacks on Zionism. That this should be described as "one of the last chapters in his forthcoming autobiography" is certainly mystifying, since the only autobiographical references it contains concern Mr. Morgenthau's own religious observances, the clothes that he wears and the food he eats. What the Zionist movement, with which Mr. Morgenthau has never had any connection, has to do with his autobiography that is announced, under cover of his attacks, under the modest title of "All in a Lifetime" is a trifle incomprehensible.

The publication of an attack on Zionism at the present day—nearly four years after the memorable Balfour Decla-

ration—is a curious phenomenon, for the principles of Zionism have long been considered and studied by all the Allied Governments, have received their unanimous approval and the encouragement of our own Government when it was supposed to be a party to the Treaty. The attention devoted by these Governments to the claims and objects of the Zionist movement was neither brief nor perfunctory. Its aims and ideals, its plans and proposals, and the varied implications and far-reaching consequences involved by their adoption and realization received the most thorough and prolonged examination on the part of the world's leading statesmen, with the result that the Peace Conference held at San Remo in April, 1920, solemnly endorsed the ideal of Zionism by deciding that a Home in Palestine shall be created for the Jewish people. The Mandate for the administration of Palestine was conferred upon Great Britain; Sir Herbert Samuel was appointed first High Commissioner; and for over a year now the Government of Palestine has been grappling with its difficult task. There is not a State throughout the civilized world that has not through its authorized representatives expressed sympathy with the great enterprise now undertaken in the Holy Land; there is not a single statesman of eminence who has not given sincere utterance to his wishes for its success. But it has remained for a retired diplomat and a professing Jew to spurn the collective wisdom of the world's leading statesmen and their experienced political advisers and to attempt to frustrate the age-long aspirations of his own people. Had Mr. Morgenthau any new light to throw upon the question, had he any new argument or objection to advance, had he discovered any unknown difficulties or revealed any unsuspected risks, I could understand his entering the arena at this late hour with his time-worn protest. But a careful perusal of his article fails to bring to light a single objection or argument that has not long ago been discussed and demolished. Nay, much more plausible objections have been offered in the past and effectively shattered,

and many who, like myself, were cold to the movement because of want of understanding, have become its champions. But Mr. Morgenthau, whose knowledge of the question is manifestly superficial, has simply refurbished some of the most threadbare fallacies of a discredited party and flaunts them as a new political revelation.

He claims, indeed, to speak with knowledge, by virtue of his association with Jews in various countries of Eastern Europe in which he has travelled; but his intercourse with his fellow-Jews in these regions has obviously been of little profit to him, as he has failed to grasp the ideal by which their lives are so strongly animated, and even presumes to combat it. He speaks of Zionism as a "betrayal" and thereby betrays his own ignorance of Jewish history and literature, for throughout the annals of the Jewish people there has been a persistent and irrepressible yearning for the restoration of Palestine. Mr. Morgenthau tries to explain away the prophecies of old and the aspirations of countless generations of Jews as mere symbolism. He may or may not have been a useful diplomat (I hope he was), but he has no claim to pose as a theologian or historian. He may have been "the president of the Free Synagogue in New York City," but he has evidently benefitted little by the ministrations of its distinguished Rabbi, Dr. Stephen Wise, who is one of the most ardent Zionists in the States. If he would only read the pages of Jewish history he would find overwhelming evidence that the Zion for which the Jewish people hoped and prayed was not the nebulous creation of his fancy, but the Zion whose synonym is Jerusalem, and whose geographical position is in Palestine. That was why, at every call of a false Messiah, the people were so ready to gird up their loins and take the wanderer's staff for the journey to Jerusalem. That was why there were so many pilgrimages thither, of Rabbis, philosophers, and poets. That was why, at the first opportunity, the Jews began colonizing Palestine from the middle of the nineteenth century. And that is why hundreds of thousands of Jews are now

longing to settle in Palestine under British administration, where they can at last begin to realize their dream of a restored Jewish homeland.

Mr. Morgenthau is singularly inconsistent. He begins by saying that Zionism is "impossible of realization," yet only twenty lines further on he remarks that "if it were to succeed, it would cost the Jews of America most that they have gained of liberty, equality and fraternity." If Zionism is impossible of realization, which can hardly be said to be flattering to the patriotism or the intelligence of the distinguished gentlemen who are supporting the cause, including the eminent Rabbi of his own congregation,—it is surely unnecessary to consider what would happen if it succeeds. If he reckons with the prospect of its success, how can he declare that it is impossible of realization? This is a mental attitude that hardly guarantees the validity of the contentions which it inspires. Mr. Morgenthau is probably not sure that if Zionism succeeds it would entail the great "cost" that he predicts, otherwise he would at least vouchsafe us some reasoned explanation of his oracular utterance. But as a matter of fact, the alarm that he expresses was voiced by certain dissenters (he then held his peace) even before the British Government issued its Declaration in November, 1917, and it was because of it that this document contained a proviso safeguarding the "rights and political status" of the Jewish communities in countries other than Palestine. Only prejudice and loose thinking could suggest that the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine—even if it enjoyed State sovereignty—would necessitate a change of political allegiance on the part of any single Jew who belonged by citizenship to another State. Mr. Morgenthau's fear has been dealt with by Mr. Balfour himself, late Foreign Secretary in the British Cabinet, and the author of the historic Declaration. In his introduction to Mr. Sokolow's "History of Zionism," referring to "Jews by descent, who desire wholly to identify themselves with the life of the

country wherein they have made their home," Mr. Balfour writes:

> They seem to think that as soon as a Zionist community came into being, men of Jewish blood, still more men of Jewish religion, would be regarded by unkindly critics as out of place elsewhere. Their ancient home having been restored to them, they would be expected to reside there. I cannot share these fears. I do not deny that, in some countries where legal equality is firmly established, Jews may still be regarded with a certain measure of prejudice. But this prejudice, where it exists, is not due to Zionism, nor will Zionism embitter it. The tendency should surely be the other way. Everything which assimilates the national and international status of the Jews to that of other races ought to mitigate what remains of ancient antipathies.

In his account of the modern Zionism movement, Mr. Morgenthau betrays just as much ignorance and superficiality as in his general argument. He designates it as "an Eastern European proposal," heedless of the fact that similar and much earlier proposals were made in Western Europe and even in America itself. Napoleon in 1799 issued a proclamation to the Jews, inviting them to gather under his leadership, and promising them the restoration of the Holy Land. There were subsequent proposals by a French Jew, Joseph Salvador; by Lord Shaftesbury in 1838; by the founder of South Australia, General Gawler, in 1845; by an English clergyman, Hollingsworth, in 1852; by the German Socialist leader, Moses Hess, in 1862; and by the English writer, George Eliot, in her remarkable novel "Daniel Deronda" in 1876. But what I should particularly like to emphasize is the remarkable advocacy of the idea by Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, who was Consul of the United States to Morocco from 1813 to 1816 and afterwards Sheriff of New York County and Judge of the Court of Sessions. It has been said of him that "no man of his day had a better claim to the title of American, yet all his life he cherished the idea of a Restoration of the Jews to Palestine." And it is significant to note that John Adams, the second President of the United States, was an ardent supporter of Major Noah's proposal. Nor is Mr. Morgenthau

any more reliable in his references to Theodor Herzl gaining "new power" in consequence of "the outbreak of wholesale massacres in Russia beginning with Kiev and Kishinev." There was no Jewish massacre in Kiev until about a couple of years ago. The massacre in Kishinev took place in 1903, but before then Herzl had already attained the zenith of his influence by virtue of his matchless combination of gifts of leadership, and there was no appreciable increase of his power during the last year of his life. So much for Mr. Morgenthau as historian.

Let us now consider what he has to say of the definition and programme of Zionism. He taunts the Zionists for having "stepped down from their plans for a sovereign Jewish state in Palestine" and for having the "temporary compromise," as he terms it, of a National Home for the Jewish People. If Mr. Morgenthau is acquainted with any Zionist plans for a sovereign Jewish state, he is in possession of secrets that are not shared by the Zionist leaders themselves. He distorts Zionist policy because he finds it easier to attack the distortion than the actual and authorized policy. He ought surely to know that the Basle programme, which has constituted the Zionist policy since the first Congress in 1897, aims only at "the creation of a Jewish Home in Palestine secured by public law." And he should also understand that the establishment of the National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people, as resolved by the Peace Conference and embodied in the Treaty of Sevres, is the nearest possible approximation to, if not actually synonymous with, the Basle programme. But the connotation of this programme has been surpassed in the terms of the Mandate whereby England is to administer Palestine, for by its provisions Hebrew has become an official language of the country: "any statement or inscriptions in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew"; and the Zionist Organization is recognized as the Jewish agency "for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may

affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine." Not only does Mr. Morgenthau fail to grasp the full importance of the terms of the Mandate, but he even reproaches, and in a tone of astonishment, the Central Conference of American Rabbis with "misunderstanding the purport of the Balfour Declaration." The Central Conference adopted a resolution asserting that the Declaration affirmed: "Palestine is to be a national homeland for the Jewish people," and Mr. Morgenthau affects to discover a glaring discrepancy between these words and the official phrasing: "The establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." To illustrate this alleged discrepancy he ventures an analogy which is palpably unsound. He kindly acquaints us with the interesting news that when he first read the Balfour Declaration he was "temporarily" making his home in the Plaza Hotel, and that he could therefore say with truth: "My home is in the Plaza Hotel," and not "The Plaza Hotel is my home." As Mr. Morgenthau declares that he was staying only *temporarily* in the Plaza Hotel, it is obvious that he could never had had any intention of making it his home. But the Jews who are going to Palestine intend settling there *permanently;* the thousands who have already gone will be followed by tens and hundreds of thousands of others; they will be helped by the British Government in establishing a national home; and when they constitute a majority of the population and form its dominating element in the country—socially, economically, and politically—we shall find that Palestine is the national homeland of the Jewish people. When that happy consummation will be reached will depend much more upon the financial assistance of the Jewish money classes than upon the zeal of the Zionist leaders. Mr. Morgenthau accuses "some" of the leaders—he wisely does not say which—of making "the great mass of Jews throughout the world" believe that Zionism "is presently attainable, if indeed it is not actually attained already." He does not offer any single quotation or

even reference in support of this sweeping statement. He is wise in his reticence, for he knows full well that he cannot substantiate his assertion; but he must also realize that he is guilty of misrepresentation. What the Zionist leaders have said repeatedly is: "Zionism is attainable now if you, the Jewish people, will help to attain it. It cannot be achieved by miracles; it can only be accomplished by men, with labor and capital. Provide these factors and the rest will follow as inevitably as a law of nature."

In his attempt to get at closer grips with the subject, Mr. Morgenthau pretends to examine it from three angles; the economic, the political and the spiritual. He is handicapped in his examination by prejudice, lack of knowledge, narrowness of vision, and an apparently deliberate intention to misunderstand or misrepresent. He asserts that "Zionists have been working for thirty years . . . backed by millions of money from philanthropic Jews of great wealth in France, England, Germany and America," and points to the apparently small results of their capacity. The fact is that the Zionist movement was founded only in 1897, and at least six years must be deducted for the period of inactivity from the beginning of the war until the end of the military occupation of Palestine. Thus, Mr. Morgenthau's thirty years are reduced to eighteen. Within that period, considering the steadfast opposition of the Turkish authorities and the apathy and even hostility of influential Jewish personalities, the wonder is that the Zionists were able to accomplish anything at all. As for the millions of money about which he writes, these exist solely in his imagination. It was for these millions that Herzl and Wolffsohn were always begging in vain. The financial instrument of the Zionist Organization, the Jewish Colonial Trust, never possessed more than two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, subscribed by one hundred thousand shareholders in all parts of the world; and the Jewish National Fund, the land-purchasing agency of the Organization, only amounts to about four hundred thousand pounds. It is because of

the millions that are needed that Dr. Weizmann came to America, for without them little more progress can be made in the future than in the past.

Mr. Morgenthau's version of the productivity and capacity of Palestine is erroneous and misleading. He speaks of "a lean and niggard soil" and of "the sparse native vegetation." I do not know with what authority he can speak about the soil of Palestine, or how much time he has spent in examining it. I prefer the judgment of a scholar who, by virtue of years of personal observation and research, has established a universal reputation as an authority on Palestine. The Very Rev. Sir George Adam Smith, Principal of Aberdeen University, writes in his latest book on "Syria and the Holy Land":

> As for the soil itself, the various soils, it may be safely said that under care they are capable of a pitch of productiveness beyond that reached even in the most prosperous period of Syrian history. . . . Even Judaea . . . is not the bleached skeleton that some hurried travellers have sketched for us. It is still alive . . . alive as even the most maltreated land abides in God's hands against better times. And Judaea is the least fertile part of Palestine. The acres of Philistia and Sharon, from which a scientific farming has recently succeeded in drawing two and even three times their former yield; the constantly fruitful vales of Ephraim; the almost unbroken wheat field of Esdraelon; the rich plains and slopes of Galilee; the lower terraces of Lebanon . . . the tropical soil and climate of the Jordan valley; with the olive almost everywhere and nowhere fatter than on the limestone *debris* of Judaea and Galilee—these are the pledges of a rich and a varied future for a secure and emancipated people.
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> But in addition to these there are steppes and arid bottoms in the land, as ready to be transformed by irrigation or dry-farming as similarly unpromising districts have proved in California and other western States of America. To the present writer a journey into South California by the Mohave desert frequently recalled the aspects of various approaches into Syria through her encircling and obtrusive sands. The same natural difficulties, the same natural possibilities exist in the one region as in the other; given the same methods under the direction of Western experience and it is not hard to believe that the same or similar results would be obtained in the East as in the West.

Mr. Morgenthau, for his own special purpose, refers only to "the sparse native vegetation." He says not a word

about the fifty Jewish agricultural colonies and settlements that have been laboriously created and developed during the last forty years, and which have attained a degree of prosperity that has evoked the admiration of all impartial observers. The Jewish colonists have advanced far beyond the primitive methods of the Arabs, who have only impoverished the soil. They have increased its productive qualities by the use of manure, introduced up-to-date machinery, and planted numerous groves of eucalyptus trees in various parts of the country for the twofold purpose of rendering it healthier and providing needful timber. In Arab orange groves three hundred and fifty boxes per acre are thought a good average, but the Jewish planter gets an average of seven hundred and fifty boxes. An eloquent tribute to the efficiency of the Jewish colonists was paid only a few weeks ago (on June 14th) in the British House of Commons by the Colonial Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, who, referring to his recent visit to Palestine, said:

> I had the opportunity of visiting the colony of Rishon-le-Zion, about twelve miles from Jaffa, and there, from the most inhospitable soil, surrounded on every side by barrenness and the most miserable form of cultivation, I was driven into a fertile and thriving country estate, where the scanty soil gave place to good crops and good cultivation, and then to vineyards, and finally to the most beautiful, luxurious orange groves, all created in twenty or thirty years by the exertions of the Jewish community who live there.

To strengthen his argument that Palestine has poor industrial prospects, Mr. Morgenthau refers to the lack of coal and iron, to the lack of "the skill in technical processes and the experience in the arts," and to the circumstance, as he alleges, that Palestine "is not in the path of modern trade currents." He is so intent upon pointing out what Palestine lacks that he fails to mention what it contains. Palestine possesses stores of quarry-stone, basalt in Tiberias, calcareous sandstone on the coast, dolomite and limestone in different mountain regions, asphalt in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea (useful for the production of pigments and varnishes), phosphates in the Judaean mountains, and sul-

phur deposits in the Dead Sea. If there is no coal or iron there will be compensation in rich petroleum deposits, if the borings, started by the Standard Oil Company in 1914 and interrupted by the war, are resumed. Moreover, there are numerous industries which can easily be established in Palestine, and the technical skill which Jews in other parts of the world have manifested will certainly not be lacking in those who settle in Palestine. It will suffice to mention preserving and fruit-canning, oil and soap manufacture (from the cultivation of olives), the production of ethereal oils and perfumes, furniture and general wood industry, tanneries and leather industries, the cultivation of tobacco and the making of cigarettes, textile and clothing industries, and printing in all its branches. But Palestine, says Mr. Morgenthau, "is not in the path of modern trade currents." Where does he think it is? At the South Pole? Commercially, it could hardly be in a more favored position, at the very meeting place of East and West, on the great highway from Europe to India, the Far East and the Antipodes. Palestine should not be expected to compete with America or Great Britain, nor need it do so, since it will not have to sustain so large a population. Mr. Morgenthau prophesies that "it will not support more than one million additional inhabitants." But is it not worth while working for the settlement of even this additional million?

On the general question of the economic prospects of the country, I should like to quote again from the recent speech of Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons. He said:

> I have no doubt that with the proper development of the resources of Palestine, and that if Jewish capital is available, as it may be, for development in Palestine, for the creation of great irrigation works on the Jordan, and for the erection of electrical power stations in the Jordan valley, which can so readily be erected there, there will be, year after year, new means of good livelihood, for a moderate number of the Jewish community, and the fact that they will be gaining their livelihood by these new means will inure to the general wealth of the whole community—Arabs and Christians, as well as of Jews.

Candidly, I prefer the weighed and studied utterance of a Cabinet Minister, made with a full sense of responsibility, before the members of the Mother of Parliaments, to the lucubrations of a retired diplomatist in "one of the last chapters of his autobiography."

In his criticism of the political aspect of Zionism, Mr. Morgenthau is significantly silent about the terms of the British Mandate. As an ex-Ambassador, he should be acquainted with them. He should know that, as the preamble of the draft states: "His Britannic Majesty has accepted the Mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations" in conformity with a number of precisely defined provisions, and the very first of these indicates that the sovereign powers of the Mandatory are limited by the terms of the Mandate. The draft of the Mandate still awaits the long deferred consideration and approval of the Council of the League of Nations, and until this formal endorsement is received, the Government of Palestine must refrain from floating a loan and embarking upon various public works. Hence, for Mr. Morgenthau to assert that Great Britain would not allow any form of government in Palestine "that was not in fact an appanage of the British Crown" shows that he bases his views not upon the actual facts and data of the case, but upon the flimsy foundation of his imaginary hypothesis. It is indeed curious that whilst he is trying to belittle Zionist prospects on the ground of Great Britain's political interests in Palestine, the British Cabinet should repeatedly defend its retention of the mandate for that country against the increasing criticism of the "Anti-Waste" party, mainly, if not solely, upon the ground of the solemn pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration and of the necessity of honoring the pledge if the moral prestige of Britain is not to suffer.

But why is Mr. Morgenthau so much concerned about the exact political future of the Jewish Community in Palestine? If he were, like Mr. Zangwill, a hundred percent political Zionist, I could understand him withholding his

support unless he received guarantees about future Jewish sovereignty. But as he declares that Zionism is "impossible of realization," and as he alternately emphasizes that its realization is undesirable, why does he disparage it because there are no guarantees concerning the maximum possible demands? He cannot in the same breath fight us as an anti-Zionist and then argue against us as a political "maximalist." Or perhaps he can accomplish that acrobatic intellectual straddle!

But when we examine the "profound reasons," as he euphemistically terms them, why the British Government will not grant the Jews "even the name and surface appearance of a sovereign Government," we see again how superficial is his knowledge of the subject. According to Mr. Morgenthau the reasons are because the Mohammedans would never consent to their holy places coming under the control of the Jews, because the British Government cannot afford "to trifle with the fanatical sensibilities of the Mohammedans in its Indian possessions," and because the Christian denominations would likewise object to their sacred shrines falling into the hands of the Jews. But have the Jews ever demanded the control of the Moslem or Christian holy places? This man of straw is fully anticipated in the Mandate, which guarantees the immunities of "purely Moslem sacred Shrines," and provides for the appointment of a special Commission "to ensure that certain Holy Places, religious buildings or sites regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion, are entrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned." The draft even provides that in the event of the termination of the British Mandate, the Council of the League of Nations shall make arrangements for safeguarding the aforesaid rights "in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League." Hence the terrible perils that Mr. Morgenthau forsees are the mere figment of a most undiplomatic imagination. The real reason why the British Government will not grant the Jews or any

other people "even the name and surface appearance of a sovereign government ruling Palestine" is because it has no power to do so. The British Government simply holds Palestine in trust on behalf of the League of Nations. Politically and legally, the ultimate arbiter of the country is the League of Nations. Humanly and actually, the ultimate arbiter is the Jewish people, for upon its attitude and decision alone, now and in the coming years, will the destiny of the country depend.

When we come to the final section of the article, in which Mr. Morgenthau undertakes to deal with the spiritual aspects of Zionism we cannot conceal our astonishment, for he seems to understand by spiritual values the enjoyment of material comfort, social advancement, and civic equality. He emphasizes the manifold opportunities that are open to Jews in America and thus tries to discount the advantages of a Jewish resettlement in Palestine. Such a narrow-minded conception of the Jewish question savors much more of a parochial politician than of a retired ambassador. He points to "the brave Jews" in England who fought for political emancipation as an argument against Zionism, but he overlooks the significant fact that the most prominent Zionists in England are Lord Rothschild, the lineal descendant of the first Jew who entered the House of Commons, and Sir Alfred Mond, a member of the present Cabinet. He also omits to observe that it was whilst the battle for civil rights was being fought by the Jews in England that one of the most distinguished among them, Sir Moses Montefiore, by his seven pilgrimages to Palestine, laid the first foundation of the Jewish colonization of that country. He refers to "the wise Jews of France" who "have fought this same battle," oblivious of the fact that in their case a battle was rendered superfluous by the French Revolution, and he fails to draw the moral from the noble munificence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild who has lavished a fortune upon the Jewish colonies in Palestine.

Mr. Morgenthau emphasizes that the "anti-Zionist Jews

of America have found that the spiritual life in modern times can be most fully enjoyed by those people who accept the beneficent progress which the world at large has made in science, industry, and the art of government." Does he suggest that Zionists, whether in America or elsewhere, are indifferent or opposed to the benefits of science, industry and the art of government? Does he not know that science is taught in all the Jewish schools of Palestine; that the Jews are doing all they can in the present difficult times to foster industry there; that the art of just and beneficent government is passionately desired there? Does he not know that one of the most ambitious enterprises of the Zionist Organization is to establish a Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which shall be abreast of the highest scholarship of the day and take the lead in science? Or has he not heard that the greatest thinker of the day, the second Newton, Professor Einstein, is an ardent Zionist and is working for the successful promotion of the University? That Mr. Morgenthau should refer to spiritual values yet makes no allusion to the wealth of spiritual potentialities contained in the Jewish resettlement of Palestine is typical of his range of vision. The revival of the Hebrew language, the creation of a new Hebrew literature, and the fostering of Jewish culture, are no mean factors in the world of modern civilization which derives so much of its moral equipment from ancient Hebrew lore and thought. The Jews in Palestine could contribute something of value to the solution of social problems; they could act as the intellectual intermediaries and interpreters between East and West; and by building up a great peace-loving community they could exercise a tranquilizing influence in a notoriously restless part of the world.

There is just one aspect of the question, and that not the least important, upon which Mr. Morgenthau does not touch at all and which I painfully miss. That is the terrible plight of the Jews in Eastern Europe, who are now passing through a worse tragedy than any that has been

known in the annals of Israel since the middle ages, and perhaps even surpassing in the mere volume of unspeakable horror the tale of persecutions of many centuries. Mr. Morgenthau's article seems to have been written in a mood of personal egotism and a sort of moral vacuum, alive only to the financial success, the social position, and the material reward that the Jews in America can gain. He tells us that the Jews in France have found France to be their Zion, the Jews of England, England, and the Jews of America, America. But what of the millions of Jews in distracted Russia, in blood-stained Ukraine, in intolerant Poland and Rumania, in Anti-Semetic Austria, Hungary and Germany? Have they found their Zion yet? They are seeking it where their forefathers have always sought it, and where hundreds of thousands of their brethern in other countries are helping them to find it—in Palestine. But they will not reach it unless there is greater cooperation and more generous sacrifice on the part of all Jews who are enjoying the financial success, the social position, and the material reward which Mr. Morgenthau holds in such high esteem.

If at such a time of unparelleled Jewish suffering and stress, any Jew of means and influence who still regards himself as a Jew, fails, by reason of prejudice or baseless selfish fear, to help his fellow-Jews to enter the avenue of salvation now open in Palestine, and even deters others from helping, it is he who is guilty not only of a dereliction of duty, but of a craven betrayal which not even the most plausible of diplomatic apologies can excuse or extenuate. Particularly unworthy is the demagogic appeal to race prejudice on the baseless pretext that there is an element of disloyalty to Americanism on the part of American Jews in championing Zionism. It is a gratuitous insult by a man who in every line demonstrates his want of understanding of the aims of the movement and of its idealism, of the great Jews of France, England and of America who are its enthusiastic sponsors, of whom men like Baron de Rothschild, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Sir Alfred Mond, Mr. Israel

Zangwill, Justice Brandeis, Judge Mack, Dr. Stephen S. Wsie, Professor Frankfurter and Nathan Straus are illustrations that come to mind at the moment—to say that they are guilty of the unspeakable treachery of promoting a movement that seeks to undermine the loyalty of Jews to the countries of which they are citizens. Words are inadequate to characterize the offence that Mr. Morgenthau has committed in his misdirected zeal to weaken a movement by rehashing stale objections that have for years been answered over and over again. As one who has known him from early youth perhaps I will be pardoned for expressing my doubt that he should be held responsible for all that appears in that article above his name, and the hope that nothing approaching it will be disclosed in the forthcoming history of his life that has been announced under the grandiloquent title "*ALL* in a Lifetime." Curiosity will be aroused to a high pitch to learn what unheard-of accomplishments are to be revealed under cover of this mysterious *ALL!*

MOON

By PAUL TANAQUIL

A million lovers plight their troth,
Calling on her to bless each oath.

She does not shine more bright because
They will be faithful to her laws.

She does not hide her head and weep
For brave-made vows they will not keep,

She ever looks austere and cold,
I think the moon is growing old!

PROGRESSIVE ITALY

By ROLANDI RICCI,

Ambassador to the United States from Italy.

THE commercial depression and industrial crisis are still *"let motiv"* of the present situation; the one affecting the whole of Europe, the other being especially felt in manufacturing countries. But there are already suggestive elements which promise a greater general stability.

Prices, money, salaries, etc., seem to tend towards normal lines again; the markets are more open and steady, and nations heretofore privileged, begin to feel the effect of an intolerable stabilizing competition.

Without taking into account the item of war reparations (which, however, will have to be considerably modified), there is a tendency in the economic system of every country to stabilize itself. The best sign of this tendency is that coercive measures and state intervention are being abandoned, in spite of renewed talk of protectionistic tendencies, especially in those countries where new industries feel the effect of the diminished buying power of the people. In the broader field of international intercourse we notice the disappearance of the recently popular theme of the arbitrary distribution of raw materials. Europe is overridden with goods of every kind.

Commercial intercourse is becoming easier in spite of the disorganization of transports in the eastern section of the European continent, where there is an overflow of merchandise, and prices are rapidly falling, especially in Rumania and Bulgaria. Money is scarce and the depression

of western Europe is felt all over the eastern part of the continent.

It was a common opinion that Russia was indispensable to Europe. As a matter of fact, even in normal times, the commercial relations between Russia and Europe were limited both in quantity and quality of goods. Today we see how that opinion was exaggerated. The absence of Russian goods from the markets of Europe is not felt.

As a market for manufactured goods, Russia has never been an essential factor for the industries of western Europe, owing to her prohibitive protectionistic duties; and the industries of Poland, owing to present conditions, cannot compete with those of western Europe. It is worth noticing that just when we realize that Russia is not an essential factor in the economic balance of Europe, there is the tendency there to resume trade relations with the western section of the European continent.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the European industries are capable of the "pliancy" of cost, finance and commercial penetration, which will enable them to resume their places on the markets of the world with such quantity of production as to compete with North American industry. It is a well-known fact that North American industry has developed during the war more than the industries of any other neutral or colonial country.

The industries of the neutral countries, which developed during the period of greater war activity (especially Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Spanish) show very little strength on the face of resumed competition; and even in Switzerland (where, according to recent statistics, there are thirty-five thousand workmen out of work altogether and seventy-two thousand partially so), there is a tendency to raise the duty on imports, some of which would be absolutely barred from that country. It is hard to understand how such measures could help the exporters who are most seriously affected by the crisis. The former belligerent nations have little to fear from that quarter.

Conditions in South America are not very different from those in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Foreign loans are being advanced to the republics of South America, especially by England and the United States. These foreign loans were an indispensable element of development in the pre-war period, and are still the fundamental element of credit in South America. The resumption of regular importation of foreign capital will restore the trade balance of the South American republics. The resumption of immigration will also tend to re-establish the necessary equilibrium and promote evolution. There is no doubt that the solution of the South American trade problems will be settled after the settlement of the same problems in North America and Europe; because not only the financing of South America by Europe and the United States is subordinate to a favorable solution of the industrial crisis in Europe and the United States, but also the normal resumption of the exportation of raw material from South America is dependent upon the ability of Europe and the United States to return to a pre-war basis of production.

From the point of view of European industry we can say that the world markets are not closed: on the contrary, in many cases they are more active than before; and in any case they are not radically upset by the prevailing crisis. The truly new factor in the situation is the growing North American competition. The United States during the war did not conquer new markets; on the contrary, in some instances her commercial position in Europe, Asia, Australia and even South America, was shaken (particularly serious have been the losses of the United States in Latin America, and of England in Asia); but the war has created the permanent factor of the financial independence and exuberance of the United States in regard to Europe.

In my opinion Europe will have to compete with the United States in technical skill, will have to employ all the resources of her old banking and commercial experience,

will have to establish a permanent continental equilibrium if she is to regain her productive and commercial position.

Looking at things with these facts in mind, one can see that during these last few months steps have been taken towards more favorable conditions. The greatest obstacles to stable conditions are:

(a) The difficulty of definitely settling the Franco-German dispute; (b) The interest (which does not always agree with the interests of the rest of Europe) of the British Empire in resuming a dominant position over world commerce.

Better than any other nation, Italy realizes the grave danger resulting from the lack of proper agreements, which delays the return to normal conditions in continental Europe. The obscure economic situation of continental Europe therefore is the result of some particular political factors. If these factors were eliminated, Europe would gradually and steadily recover.

The world-wide crisis of the maritime industry is due to three things: Overproduction of tonnage, falling of prices, and increased cost of production. The overproduction of tonnage is the most evident factor. In 1920 the tonnage launched amounted to five and a half million of tons; and at the end of the same years there were one thousand nine hundred and eighty ships in the course of construction, amounting to a tonnage of seven million, one hundred and eighty thousand, of which only sixty-eight thousand were represented by sailing vessels. The increased cost of shipping and the lowered value of the money of many countries have reduced the demand for bottoms to strict necessity. As a consequence of these conditions ten per cent. of the entire shipping world is already out of operation.

Italy is passing through a period of transition tending towards better conditions.

The government control of minor cereals and rice has been given up, as will be soon done in the case of wheat. A more normal market prevails in all kinds of similar prod-

ucts; natural production is increasing and consequently importations from abroad, which weighed so heavily on our commercial budget are diminished. This gradual, though slow, return to normal conditions is an effect of a general *"detente"* and gives the impression of a more stable state of affairs all around.

Undoubtedly many products of agricultural exportation are going through a critical period. Thus the silk and hat industries, the wine industry, and others are in bad shape; and stockholders in these lines of business are facing heavy losses. But the general trend of national economy is encouraging. After years of pessimism during and since the war, a more sober and optimistic view can be taken of general conditions.

So far as Italy is concerned we can say that the pessimistic prophecies on the commercial unsettlement of the country have been already proved mistaken or exaggerated. Thus has been demonstrated the fallacy of the statement, made even in Italian books and papers; namely, that Italy could hardly hope to react and prosper unless raw materials were given her through international agreements at exceptional rates and special conditions of payment. This supposition was due to the particular angle from which things were looked at, and to the failure on the part of the critics to observe a change in the general conditions.

Even during 1920 various elements fought energetically to counteract the conditions of economic inferiority in which Italy had been placed by the war, especially by the not always favorable treatment she received from England and the United States. The restorative elements referred to above, have now an unimpeded way open to them, and in spite of the disappearance of sudden fortunes and the persistency of the commercial and industrial crisis which has affected Italy as well as other countries, there is greater confidence in the future, owing to a brighter outlook in the field of business. Fewer people out of work and less decrease in production are to be found in Italy than elsewhere. And

there are almost no strikes of an economic character. The law controlling industries is strongly opposed in some quarters. But probably, instead of becoming a revolutionary weapon, it will assume some of those subtle forms which are generally successful in social democracies like Italy.

It is hard to foresee how good the crops will be this year. But thus far the agricultural reports seem generally favorable.

In my opinion Italy has found her way out of her difficulties without artificial help or long-term obligations. It would have been a mistake to give any importance to such projects of international financing as Termenlen's. We now see a return to normal commerce through the extension of credits from foreign capitalists to Italian interests.

At the beginning of this year, Italy was hard hit by the world crisis. Before then, the economic unsettlement which had been evident abroad for seven or eight months, did not appear either imminent or dangerous in many of our political, commercial and industrial circles, although the same confidence was not shared in the financial circles. As a consequence of this optimism, every industrial and commercial firm took its own measures to meet the crisis, and these measures were not always wise. Moreover, striking difference in the power of resistance was demonstrated by industries born or inflated during the war (which were often managed by incompetent persons) in comparison with those which had long traditions and more solid foundations.

However, the improvement in the conditions of the finances of the State and of the national banks, cannot be taken as an absolute sign of entirely restored conditions; because it is one of the effects and not the cause, of the improvement of the economic situation. Therefore, without overlooking the consequences beneficial to national activity which will follow this improvement, the improvement itself will have to be taken as an indication rather than as the foundation of the new state of affairs.

Judged in the light of the above observations, we find that the various branches of industry (which have been most affected by the crisis) are in the following condition:

The steel industry has been seriously affected. Many of its ills are attributed to speculation. As a matter of fact the fundamental cause of the crisis is the fall in the price of iron. As this drop came after considerable reductions in the price of many branches of goods, and as the steel industry was in the hands of strong organizations, people were inclined to believe that there was a tendency to present deflation in this field. On the contrary, in the course of a few weeks prices precipitated; and in spite of great need, the demand for iron is today less than in June of last year, when prices were double what they are now. Hence the sudden character of the crisis. But the actual need for iron is indispensable when we consider that there is urgent demand for building and railroad material.

It is quite clear, and it was foreseen, that the lignite mines, partly closed now, could not constitute a truly safe investment.

It was also evident that German competition would reduce production in several mechanical industries which grew out of the necessity of the war.

Cost of production in Italy is cheaper than in America, England, Switzerland, or France. But Germany can often produce at a lower cost than Italy and thus provoke a request for a higher protective tariff by the Italian manufacturers, who claim the necessity on the ground of the high price of raw materials. There is a great deal of truth in this allegation, but it is a fact that the high prices paid by the other countries, except Germany, do not prevent them from producing. It is quite probable that in the course of stabilizing industry we may have to sacrifice some branch of it. But the gradual return to a more normal valuation of money, which is unavoidable, will smooth out a great many sharp differences which today hinder the productive ability of nations in competition with Germany.

It is interesting to note the fact that in the first two months of this year the exportation of some mechanical articles, especially automobiles, was more than double the exportation of the same articles in the first two months of 1920. It is true that, in a large measure, this increased exportation represents the filling of pre-war contracts. But we find these Italian goods in every market of the world, which proves that this branch of Italian industry (the money value of which reaches the sum of several hundred million dollars a year) is well established.

The general character of the difference in the ability of different branches of industry to cope with the present crisis, is particularly evident in the chemical, pharmaceutical, soap and rubber industries. Thus, for instance, we find that dye factories are practically all closed, while the fertilizer plants work full time.

In the textile industry, which is the largest and most important of the Italian industries, we find a difference in the degree of resistance to the present industrial crisis. The wool industry reacts in a way peculiar to itself and quite different from the reaction of the cotton industry. The same can be said of the silk production. The wool industry is affected by the greater home production and demand. Besides it is greatly affected by world competition to which the Italian wool producer is entirely new. However, it is interesting to see that during the first two months of the present year the exportation of finished wool products has amounted to seventy million lires, according to official figures. In the first two months of last year there was practically no exportation.

The general conditions of the cotton industry in the world markets have greatly reduced the value of the raw material, without reducing the cost of production in a way proportioned with the reduction in the cost of the finished product. The cotton industry was better prepared to meet a crisis, owing to greater financial resources, better management, greater experience, and ability to meet foreign com-

petition. It will undoubtedly overcome existing difficulties and stabilize itself.

The silk market had a very poor outlook some months ago. The reduced rates of exchange increase the difficulties of marketing the new silk. But in Italy there is a return (though too sudden) to normal conditions after the boom of 1920 from which the silk industry benefitted greatly.

The foodstuff industry is greatly diffused in Italy (cheese factories, flour mills, sugar refineries, marmalade factories, etc.). It is not in an abnormal condition. The return to complete freedom of commerce at home and abroad will help the development of this industry in all its branches.

The building industry, while affected by the general crisis, is not depressed. Slowly but surely it is becoming more and more active, especially where financial help is given to it by political bodies. It is to be expected that large capital will be invested in buildings as soon as the industrial conditions are markedly improved. There are large works to be undertaken, which will occupy unskilled labor released by the specialized industries, such as steel and mechanical plants.

The ceramic and glass industries have been heavily affected in many places. Factories are running on short time and their production is greatly reduced, owing chiefly to foreign competition. Less serious is the situation of the paper industry. The leather industry is greatly depressed, and the shoe factories are mostly closed, as are the tanneries.

The branches of Italian industry which are really on the brink of a precipice are those which deserve to fail. Most of them were counting on an indefinite continuation of a period of inflation rather than on a return to normal conditions. Their salvation would have meant the ruin of the working mass of the nation, the continued lack of raw materials, the disorganization of public and private finances, the increase in the rate of exchange, wild speculation—in

short, the salvation of some particular branch of Italian industry would be contrary to the true interests of the nation at large. As regards the situation abroad, we can say that the Italian industry has become emancipated from foreign control: a control which threatened to become dangerous politically.

In the agricultural field there is a contrast between the conditions of last year and conditions now. Last year, when the commercial situation favored the producer, there were, except in the case of grapes, small crops. Today, after a general depreciation, there is every prospect of a good harvest.

A still greater agricultural productivity would be highly desirable, agriculture being the foundation of our national economy. But the depreciation is so great as to disturb all previsions, the more so as this depreciation has probably not yet reached the maximum—especially for some products peculiar to Italian agriculture, such as wine. It is true that the wealth of the farmers has greatly increased in the last years; but this favorable element should not induce us to loose sight of the fact that a stable equilibrium can only be maintained by the right balance between prices and costs: a balance which is often lacking. Besides, the discontinuance of the political control of bread (the last article remaining under government supervision) may greatly affect the wheat industry.

In Italy, as elsewhere, domestic and foreign commerce has given visible signs of depression. On the other hand, foreign trade, on the whole, has lost in part the Italian market. But the amounts imported seem in several fields increased in the first two months of this year compared with the same period of last. After the decrease of buying abroad, which owing to the rate of exchange and the labor disorders was noticeable during the last months of 1920, the inevitable results made their appearance. The value of the commercial disproportion seems therefore increased, if

a comparison can be made between the grand total of 1920 and 1921.

But in such a disturbed period it is difficult to deduce the actual disproportion of the effective balance of credits from the commercial unfavorable balance. Certainly it may be said that the unfavorable balance of credits is not compensated by the addition of foreign and more or less political loans, falling due at distant periods which (it has been recently affirmed) should weigh on the Italian public economy. This situation is, in a great measure, compensated for by constant and economically legitimate factors; and if the increase of private debts has been counted, this is due to the growing confidence in the stability of our country and especially, during the first two months of 1921, to the fact that foreign countries (swamped as they were by their own raw materials) were obliged to sell. An index of the financial resources is the data on the visible savings paid into the institutions of credit. The absolute figure is now about twenty billions (including the ordinary and postal savings banks, the large banking institutions, and the national banks); that is, more than triple the pre-war account, thus being reconstituted a conspicuous part of the actual value which was lost by the depreciation of paper money. But what is more important is the continual increase of this visible saving which, for the most recent period for which we have statistics (December, 1920—January, 1921) sums up to about half a billion a month. Presumably the commercial and industrial settlement has helped this increase in savings, which however, in great measure, is the result of a vast and uninterrupted movement. The betterment, which appears to be lasting, of the state bonds is an index of other safe investment of capital.

The finances of the State may be judged by the fact that the revenue of the nation from July first, 1920, to April first, 1921, was seven billion, six hundred and seventy-nine million, and from July first, 1919, to April first, 1920, was

five billion, four million, showing an increase of two billion, six hundred and seventy-five million.

Even discounting the due amount for the increase in disbursement, especially owing to the better treatment of the employees, it may be said that the *"detente"* has begun also in this field and that it will soon be true that the income will equal the expenses.

Great attention should be given the data concerning the situation of the Bank of Italy on May 20th of this year. The Bank shows such an improvement in its financial conditions as to appear as favorable as they were eleven months ago, that is June 20th, 1920. All the losses which had been sustained by the Bank from that date to the end of 1920 have been balanced by the constant improvement from January first till the present time. From the maximum circulation reached last year, there has been a reduction up to May 20th, 1921, of lire one billion, eight hundred and fifty million.

If this must not lead us to an excess of hope that we may see the exchange go to normal, or even only to very low rates, there is sufficient ground for the belief that the gain made by the exchange will not again be lost in spite of possible and probable oscillations, which will bring up the dollar, temporarily, several points.

Summing up, the economic situation of Italy is a confirmation that the world crisis has not affected our organism. We have had losses, but they have not been as serious as those of other industrial countries which benefitted so much by the period of inflation.

In Italy no more than two hundred thousand men are out of work. The freedom from commercial restrictions at home and abroad is of greater benefit than damage to us. All the financial prospects are favorable. Italy gives such evidences of vitality that she can confidently face the future even if the present crisis should become more serious than it now is. Italy works, produces and saves.

The perfect political accord of Italy and the United States will undoubtedly tend toward increasing their commercial exchanges—especially if the leaders of commerce and finance in our two countries will do their part, as I trust they will.

THE CREED OF YOUTH

By HARRIETT SCHLEITER

Believe in all that's beautiful,
For all that's beautiful is God—
And God is Life,
And Life is Love.
Oh, let your thoughts soar high above
Prosaic things.
Believe in Love,
And Life,
And God.
Forget things dull—
Believe! Believe!
In all that's beautiful.

STRAVINSKY—THE ENIGMA

By CHARLES HENRY MELTZER

IGOR STRAVINSKY is today the most discussed, most advertised, most detested, and most eulogized of musicians. To some he seems another Bach or Berlioz. By others he is viewed as an imposter. In London and in Paris his more recent works are being lauded to the skies, and torn to tatters. And, on the strength of the abuse which has been heaped upon him, his noisy worshippers have founded a new cult.

Abuse however, may be right and fit, as well as senseless; and it would not be wise, I think, to add Stravinsky to the masters of his art merely because some of the most accomplished critics who have heard his later music have denounced him as a humbug. Among those critics there are men like Ernest Newman and Percy Scholes—and men known and much respected for their competence and freedom from the chains of vulgar prejudice. It does not follow that, because composers are attacked as Wagner was, they are on that account themselves new Wagners. The *fumistes* also get their share of mockery; and, after stirring up vain storms, are rightly slain. There are pretenders of so many kinds in music; some whose pretensions will next year be laughed at. It is not easy, for the layman or for the musician, to see the difference between these and the masters—to judge offhand between a mere Prokofiew, trifling with "The Love of the Three Oranges," or devising inanities like a "Chout," and a Debussy, lending new and lovely poetry to a drama of Maeterlinck. The Prokofiews loom large for a short

time and cause much talk by their impertinence. But, soon or late, their tricks are all laid bare, and they go down to what is well-deserved oblivion.

Stravinsky had, however, proved his talent—and perhaps his genius, before he set all Europe by the ears with his two works, "The Rite of Spring" ("Le Sacre du Printemps") and what he has named his "Concerto," not "for" but "of" wind instruments. It is around these that a discussion is now raging, which has provoked more savage outbursts, and more fury on both sides than has been known in music since the birth of *"Tannhauser."* The advocates and opponents of the Russian have not been fencing with the usual foils. They have been stabbing one another with sharp weapons. Stravinsky has been mixed up in the fight. He has been quite as offensive as his friends and foes. He is not by any means a modest soul. He has, or seems to have, supreme self-confidence. His claims are hard to state in simple terms. But he pretends that he has given the world new forms of art, and he insists that in his startling "Rite of Spring," he has produced what he declares to be pure music, music which stands or falls on its own worth, regardless of its meanings or no-meanings. His mad disciples, among whom is Edwin Evans, have wrapped his theories up in obscure words. No average mind, and very, very few trained minds, indeed could find much sense in the absurdities they utter.

According to Stravinsky, in his present mood, to write music one should "juxtapose tonal values." One should despise nuances or "shadings" of all sorts. Each round produced by every instrument in the orchestra should be considered, heard, and judged for its own sake. Symphonic notions and developments such as we have admired in Brahms and Beethoven are damned as futile. Stravinsky hates not only Richard Wagner, but also the composer of the works which have been named "the immortal nine." He bows to Mozart and to Father Bach, though his own works appear to most a negation of the inventions of those masters.

For, in his "Rite of Spring"—which to his followers is as great as "Tristan," and the "Choral," and the "St. Matthew Passion Music"—he has replaced the formal styles of Bach and Mozart by sheer disorder. To me, and to a majority of listeners, his "Rite" is, to real music, what Trotsky and Lenin are in politics—the expression of a primitive kind of anarchy.

As for the theory, in a London interview, Stravinsky himself tried to make it plain. To him his theme is a mere pretext for "pure abstract music." And this, he said, applied to all his works.

"Understand," he added, "that this idea which I have just expressed is not one which underlies merely my most recent music. I have always felt the same. I have never made 'applied music' of any kind. Even in the early days, in 'The Fire Bird,' I was concerned with a purely musical construction. The only forms which are worth anything are those which flow from the musical material itself. We have wind instruments, stringed instruments, percussion instruments, and the human voice. There is our material. From the actual use of these materials our form should arise.

"In 'The Rite of Spring,' for instance, the pretext of the pre-historic birth of Spring has suggested to me the construction of the work. . . . The pretext I chose is but a pretext, like the painter's pretext for painting. If anyone objects, and prefers anecdote to a simple musical monument, he is surely in his mental infancy."

Which tells one little that is new or strange. But what it tells is in absolute opposition to what was set forth at great length in the programme notes I read at a concert in Queen's Hall, at which "The Rite of Spring" was played twice this summer. On the surface, what Stravinsky said was an indictment of what is called programme music—a form which Brahms and Berlioz and Liszt and Beethoven have all employed. The "explanations" of Stravinsky, of course, do not explain the barbaric and atrocious sounds evolved in what has been in turn presented as an unusual sort of sym-

phony (minus the chief and secondary themes, developments and suggestions of all symphonies) and as a setting for a primitive Russian ballet. The writer of the Queen's Hall programme notes lent to "The Rite of Spring" an elaborate significance. If he knew anything about that baffling and bewildering composition, it symbolized "a contest between the two chief forces of nature, as understood by the primitive people taking part in it—the earth and the sun. It is divided into two parts. In the first, the fertility of the earth prevails. In the second, the sun is propitiated by a sacrifice." And this seems more ingenuous, more near the truth, than the assertions of Stravinsky in that interview. But, if "The Rite" does really tell a tale, what is it but another piece of programme music?

When I reheard the work as it was mimed and danced by the members of the Russian Ballet, my programme gave no hint of any tale at all. "The Rite," I was assured, was only an evocation or suggestion of pre-historic Russia. The music had been used to suit weird dances. Now this interpretation of the work may be correct. But how can both interpretations fit the case? Yet the composer has approved of both the readings—that of Mr. Eugene Goossens, who conducted at Queen's Hall, and that of the leader of the Russian Ballet orchestra, M. Ansermet. Can he be laughing at the world, as some suppose? Perhaps. Who knows?

But the essential is not theory, but the created work. On that point I agree with Ernest Newman—a fair critic.

"No one worries in the least about a theory," says Mr. Newman. "If a man who has no emotion can still put together an interesting piece of music by juxtaposing tonal values (i.e., presumably, by inventing a succession of detached tones or sounds) we shall give the music a welcome on its merits. But surely everything depends on what the tonal values are, and how they are juxtaposed—just as in the music of emotion everything depends on the quality of the emotion, and how it is expressed. There must be good and bad works in each genre; and our complaint is that the

apostles of the genre of "juxtaposition" do not show the slightest capacity to distinguish first-rate work in that genre from the merest rubbish or charlatanry.

Stravinsky, in the heyday of his art life, has renounced, has turned his back on, the achievements of his youthful days. After hearing his three best known works in London —his early "Fire Bird," his "Petrouchka," and his "Rite," I felt compelled and not without some pain, to ask myself if we had not been taking him and certain other Russians far too seriously. Even "Petrouchka," as I listened to it lately, though full of interest, both dramatic and ironic, seemed to be fashioned out of very trivial folk songs, and when analyzed, meant less than I had fancied. In his own way, Stravinsky had done something not unlike what, in "Louise," Charpentier had accomplished with his Paris street cries. The beauty, the attraction, of "Petrouchka," as I found, lay not in the invention of ideas and themes, but in the weaving of trite themes or tunes into a curious and, I grant, effective whole. There are much finer things and much more subtle things in "The Fire Bird," which charms and holds one by its fantasy. "The Rite of Spring," however, neither charms nor holds one. It is a tantalizing, often hideous, effort to surprise and horrify.

Despite the false or at least disingenuous statements I have quoted from Stravinsky, it was quite clear that, in this monstrous composition, he had introduced suggestions of a story which included various episodes—a pre-historic "Incantation Scene," a "Rape Scene," a primitive "Combat Scene," a "March for a High Priest," a "Sacrificial Scene," recalling vaguely part of what was shown us a few months ago in "Iphigenia," by Miss Margaret Anglin. The "March" was grave and sad and had real beauty. Some of the folk-songs, which were freely used, impressed one, although trite, by their strange character. But these were incidents in an amazing work which sought to shock, distress and terrify the ear. The "tonal values" juxtaposed by the composer were at times so awful that they recalled the noises

of a modern boiler factory. The players banged on the percussion instruments. The wood-winds and the brass blasphemed to heaven. The strings let loose weird floods of anarchy. The effect was Bolshevistic, brutal, bestial.

The audiences were split up into camps. Most smiled or shuddered at the so-called music which had been offered as an improvement on "The Choral" of Beethoven, the "First" of Brahms, and the tone-poems of Debussy. A wild minority though, cheered and cheered, till the composer at last bowed his grateful thanks.

The flesh and blood Stravinsky whom I saw did not suggest a genius, but a man aflame with eagerness to win loud notoriety. Of less than middle height, with his long nose, his restless eyes and his aggressive manner, he seemed, not an apostle of pure music, but a rank *arriviste*—or, as we say, a "get there." The sight of him, to me, was like a douche. It chilled the pleasure I had owed him for "Petrouchka" and that enchanting "Fire Bird." It stirred up anger at "The Rite of Spring."

If that last mentioned work is really music, we must all go to school again and get new ears. Or we must learn to draw distinctions between music of this kind and that—unless we swallow noise itself as music.

There is a difference between dissonance and discord, though many may object to both as ugly. But raw cacophony such as Stravinsky gives us in his present phase, will seem to even those who still admire him, blatant insolence.

This daring Russian sneers at the poor critics. And in the same breath he declares he never reads them. "If the critic does not understand," he tells us, "he should wait. But, in all countries of the world there are critics who will not admit that they do not understand."

This might be crushing, yet it does not hurt so much when we remember that Stravinsky has damned Beethoven. He treats that master as he treats trained experts, of good faith, who do not like him. He tosses him aside contemptuously, as children fling away a toy they have outgrown.

"Beethoven's works," says the Lenin of tonal values, "are never purely musical in their construction. The form is always dialectic, influenced by the philosophical constructions of Hegel. Wagner commits the same sin, influenced by Schopenhauer. And so on with all the Germans"—with whom he does not class Mozart, the Austrian.

The critics have replied to all this nonsense in unsparing terms. They have proclaimed that the great Igor is now dead, killed by his madness and above all by his barrenness of ideas.

"I have never seen it done," says Mr. Newman, "but I believe that, when a chicken's head is chopped off with great suddenness, the astonished little fellow is unable for the moment to realize that he is dead, and his body keeps running round the farmyard for a while. We need not be surprised then, reasoning by analogy, if the little group of Stravinsky fanatics among us, although it has been slain by a suddenly enlightened public opinion, will still make a show of some of the signs of life a little longer. I am afraid it is only too true that in these days the beards of our fathers exist only to be pulled by every cocky street urchin. . . . It is a great mistake, in London and Paris just now, to be an ancestor."

I am not prepared to go so far as this. Stravinsky may, or may not, be quite dead. It is conceivable that, like so many more, he has been shattered for a time by the upheavals and excitements of the hour. What in his art to me seems Bolshevistic, may be discarded in a year, or two or ten years. But, for the moment, even those who have believed in him, are disconcerted by his vaunted "Rite of Spring." If he had written that mad symphony or ballet under Lenin's influence, there might be hope for him. In point of fact, however, he produced that work not only before Lenin became mighty, but before the war. His Bolshevism antedated that which is now ruining Russia. Eight years ago, Nijinsky used the music of "The Rite" for his own purposes. The new dances—if the word can be applied

to the queer posturings of the Diaghilev Ballet—have been invented by Massine. The ballet of Nijinsky was, as Stravinsky says "subjected to the tyranny of the bar." That of Massine has been planned out less rigidly. The movements of the dancers are adapted to long drawn out phrases, extending often over several bars. The change of method, I regret to add, has done little to enlighten the dull Londoners as to the meanings of the performers of "The Rite"—if they exist. And their existence, as we know, has been denied by both Stravinsky and Massine.

Then, some may ask with a good show of reason—"why the 'Rite'?" And to that question it is hard to find the answer. Unless (the very thought is most distressing) it is supplied by an irreverent layman, who, commenting on the work, maintained that the Russians and the Slavs in general might have great ideas, but were constitutionally unable to carry them to their logical conclusions. That sort of weakness, he went on to say, may be observed any day in a monkey house.

"A really clever monkey grabs a feather from a woman's hat, and for a moment it seems that he is going to make something highly decorative out of it. Then he throws it away, and chases a piece of straw, or another monkey's tail. So it is with the Slav, whether in war, in commerce, in government, or—in music."

But this is ribaldry. I draw the line. For, though Stravinsky has dismayed all but a noisy group by his more recent works, there was in him, and there may be today, the making of, not a new Bach or Beethoven, but of a new Moussorgsky. The pity of it is that he lacks the simplicity and, it may be feared, the sincerity of that master. He is truculent. He is conceited. He is cynical. And he denies too much. It is just as well that we should pause awhile before accepting him at his own "tonal value."

HOW ENGLISH LABOR THINKS

Rt. Hon. Lord Askwith

THE labor question in the United Kingdom is at the present time largely affected by insular prejudice and international aspirations. These two factors might at first seem to be incompatible, but they exist in the minds of the same individual, and of large groups of individuals. The coal trade may be cited as an example.

Last autumn the miners chose to strike—dealt a serious blow at their own industry, all other industries in the country, and Europe generally. They insisted on increases of wages which the industry would not bear, hindered reconstruction, lost the chances of good export trade, and put the industry in the position of being run at a loss of five million pounds a month. They have now demurred because the Government, which means the general taxpayer, was not prepared to subsidize this particular industry with this huge sum at a time when there was more unemployment than had been known for many years.

Parliament having definitely decontrolled the mines, the Government naturally said no. The coal workers seemed to ignore the fact that the taxpayers and ratepayers of the whole country were sick of subsidies and doles, and not in the least prepared to select coal as a special industry which should receive money from the emptied pockets of other industries. They seemed to have no idea of the European situation, but looked to their own interests, and assumed that the country and consumers generally, were rich and could pay. The view was narrow and insular.

Industrially in the country itself the miners have always been somewhat isolated, possibly through the nature of

their work and the local concentrations of their calling. Miners have felt a good humored contempt for the people who have to live on the surface of the earth, even if in late years their protection has been gradually given to the surface workers immediately connected with their industry. Their insularity led them to think that their earnings could remain at about the same figure, even though economic law was against them. The lesson shown at the time of the autumn strike that their export trade, the most important branch for their own and their country's prosperity, could be lowered or even stopped if the costs of production were too high, did not seem to be realized.

The competition of German coal in France and the coming in of American coal, too, were largely ignored. When the strike was over, the market for export coal at the required price was gone. The high price of coal had also reacted upon other industries. Their products were too high for the capacity of buyers. Stocks increased, manufacturers could not both sell existing stocks at a loss, and pile up new stock at the same cost, with the certainty that the buyers would be incapable of paying the price. Europe was poor, the exchange was bad, customers could not pay, and yet without exports a thickly populated island could not get sufficient food. All sane observers knew that a cut must come, both in profits and the costs of production, including wages.

At the same time, while this insular view was so strong, certain theorists held and busily preached the assumed value of international solidarity, the overthrow of capital, and even with the example of Russia before them, the marvelous results which would follow from pursuit of Marxian doctrines. Those doctrines appealed to the desire of material profit, continued high wages at the supposed expense and discomfiture of the capitalist, and suggested alliance with international labor. The extremists met in every mining lodge, passed resolutions, and never heard or met any adequate opposition. One-sided propaganda has been rife

throughout the country and has received much credit. It has engendered a sense of unrest, and been the chief cause of district disturbances.

The common sense of the country has, on the whole, countered half-baked ideas, and maintained a sound middle course between the dull creed of the reactionary and the fervor of apostles. Labor dimly realizes that it marches on its stomach, not on phrases. It dislikes dictatorial action, and objects to the control of fear. But in Great Britain labor is extraordinarily ignorant of economic facts, does not recognize the devastation of the war and its effect upon all the countries of the world, and is too prone to listen in some cities to the doctrines of fanaticism.

There exists, however, a very strong middle class gradually asserting opinion against extremism and against the continual strikes which have hindered production and revival. These classes do not favor socialism, and are keen for individual liberty. Many of them have suffered heavily in their means of livelihood. They strive to maintain those amenities of life which lie outside the satisfaction of material gain, and will more and more exercise a controlling influence.

In the present coal dispute it has become plain that labor as a whole will not act with solidarity for political objects, and when it was alleged that the objects of the miners were not political, neither leaders nor the rank and file were ready to support a dispute in another industry and bring the country to the brink of civil war. Why? Because at the last minute it was seen that the miners' leaders were clinging to their own scheme and refused compromise or discussion. This attitude was so contrary to the general views of the best methods for settling industrial disputes that the rank and file everywhere showed disinclination to obey orders, to break contracts, to give up agreements, and come out sympathetically for a quarrel which was not their own. Other trades had sought conciliation or arbitration and had found that no deaf ear was turned to legitimate grievances.

Why should the miners alone refuse compromise or discussion? It was denied that there existed any conspiracy amongst employers for a general reduction of wages. In point of fact no such conspiracy existed, and the public knew that the accusation was incorrect. Increase of wages had been largely given to meet the increased cost of living. The cost of living was beginning to come down rapidly. The reasons for the increase of wages were diminished, while some trades were actually working under agreements for rises and reductions in accord with statistical figures reflecting the cost of living. When wages in these trades were reduced, others by analogy also fell. In addition it was plain that consumers would not pay the high prices, that the costs of production must come down, that competitive nations were throwing goods on the world's market—and when a general cut all round was necessary, wages alone could not maintain their high standard.

However much international socialism may be preached, the British workingman is very individualistic and national. He is not partial to the schemes of foreigners, and there is no appeal to the majority of women, in the theories of Bolshevism or the stories of the doings in Russia. The international effort falls flat. The Insular idea for the present dominates the International idea, but both ideas have a varied influence.

THE PASSER-BY

By HELENE MULLINS

I have seen the shattering of shells
And the shattering of hearts,
And I do not know which is worse—
Only, the wound I got
From the shattering of shells
Is nearly healed—
While I cannot wash away
The spatting of blood on my dreams
From the shattering of hearts.

NEW YORK CITY'S PROBLEM

By HIRAM W. JOHNSON

AN ancient proverb tells us that Truth could be found only at the bottom of a well, but her seekers gazing down into the limpid waters, too often found but their own faces reflected, and left firmly convinced they had made the great discovery. So in political campaigns, not infrequently, our prejudices, our interests, our partisanship, our vanity sway our judgments, and we fondly imagine that in the reflection of what most concerns ourselves, we have found the righteous side and are struggling for the triumph of truth. There are, however, elements in the present New York campaign quite out of the ordinary, issues divorced from partisanship, which compel the interest of the thoughtful and the activity of the patriotic. In these issues personalities and politics may be eliminated. Independent citizens, believers in popular government, the men and women who constitute the great inarticulate mass, and who desire only their country's welfare and the preservation of its cherished institutions, have real questions now before them. A combination of circumstances has made New York the battleground for the fundamental principles of democracy; and these fundamentals must be rightly decided without regard to the politics of the situation or the personalities involved.

The first of the issues, of transcendent importance to the city of New York, and of only less importance to every city and every locality in the country, is the new Traction Law. If, with impunity, the greatest city of the nation can be deprived of its property and robbed of its inherent right to govern itself, a precedent will have been set which complaisant or corrupt legislatures will not be slow to follow.

It is true that the Traction Bill was heralded as a Republican policy, sponsored by a Republican Governor; but it was never a part of a Republican platform, nor otherwise than by traction companies made a Republican measure. No candidate in the State campaign, preceding its introduction in the Legislature, even hinted at such a law; no party advocated it, no platform mentioned it. Whatever may have been the secret purposes of its progenitors, they remained secret during the campaign, and the people voted in ignorance that their right of self-government was threatened. And nothing better demonstrates the infamy of this Traction Law than the fact that no candidate in the present local election in New York City will espouse it, and all political parties condemn it. Certain Republicans in the Legislature at the behest of certain bosses, who in turn acted at the behest of traction companies, voted for the Bill. The same members of the Legislature and the same bosses now repudiate it. Their belated repudiation is not enough; they themselves should be so thoroughly repudiated that neither legislator nor boss will ever again dare to commit such an offense against the people. The present attitude of these legislators and bosses illustrates what has ever followed in our political life. A job can be perpetrated in a Legislature; even a job which takes the property and destroys the rights of a people. With the aid of newspaper allies the job may be brazenly, cynically and arrogantly committed; but how all the offenders scurry to cover when there is an accounting before the people! Where are the advocates of the Traction Bill in this campaign? While the Legislature was in session, it wasn't difficult for concentrated power and wealth and their journalistic allies to send train loads of exultant individuals to Albany in behalf of a Traction Bill for the enriching of private corporations. It was of little consequence to gentlemen of easy conscience that the greatest city in the world should be deprived, in dealing with railroad companies, of every vestige of self-determination or home rule. Where are these merry people

today? Where are the eloquent speakers who talked in Albany of seven-cent fares and the necessity of having a State-appointed Board rewrite the contracts of New York City, and, without the people's consent, take their property? As this is written, *every* candidate is against the Traction Bill; *every* citizens' combination repudiates it; *every* party denounces it. Ignorant or designing men may job the people with a legislature. They daren't even attempt to justify the job when it is up to the people themselves. And just here is the second fundamental issue presented.

The vice of the Traction Bill is not in its pretense at regulation, for the right of regulation under the ordinary circumstances requiring it, must be conceded. Far beyond regulations does the Act go. It suggests regulation, and enacts confiscation. It authorizes the rewriting of the city's contracts, the abrogation of old contracts and execution of new. The State-appointed Transit Commission may make terms and conditions which the City must obey in its relations with the railroad companies, may require payment by the City of any amounts the Transit Commission may ask, for any purposes of the Commission, and the amounts must be paid without itemization or detail of any sort. The Commission is authorized *without hearing of any kind,* temporarily (and this may practically be indefinitely) to increase fares. Jurisdiction of the streets of the city substantially is conferred upon Albany's appointees. But outrageous as all these things are, worse even than requiring the treasury of the City to respond, without knowledge by officials or citizens, to every demand of the Commission, is the destruction of the right of the people to govern themselves, of the principle of home rule. Of course, in this day of reaction it is neither fashionable nor scarcely permissible to speak of home rule for cities or for peoples. But there is a vital principle in local government, without which democracy is a mockery, and this principle has gradually become known as Home Rule. By the Traction Bill, when contracts are to be altered or new ones made

with the railroad companies, they must be submitted to the corporations and to the city. The corporations may accept or refuse. The city can only accept. If the city does not consent, then the Commission executes the contracts in the name of the city. And this too, may be in respect to the city's very properties—the subways owned by it, and upon which it has expended three hundred millions of dollars. Of course in an article of this sort there can be neither legal argument nor a detailed analysis of the law. Suffice it to say, under an Act now repudiated by the party which it was originally asserted sponsored it, now denounced by every candidate and political organization, an act which *before the people* had neither apologists nor defenders, New York City is deprived of the right to deal with its own property and the most cherished privilege of American life, self-government, is denied to seven million people.

If the law is as indicated, or if it is in any aspect a hundredth part as bad as described, now, when the people themselves for the first time may express themselves, it presents an issue, serious and all-important, the answer to which must be made in no uncertain tones.

Nearly fifty years ago, one of the most eminent of American jurists, Judge Cooley, disposed of such a law in this apt language:

> And the question, broadly and nakedly stated, can be nothing short of this: Whether local self-government in this state is or is not a mere privilege, conceded by the legislature in its discretion, and which may be withdrawn at any time at pleasure? * * *
>
> The state may mold local institutions according to its views of policy or expediency; but local government is a matter of absolute right, and the state cannot take it away. It would be the boldest mockery to speak of a city as possessing municipal liberty where the state not only shaped its government, but at discretion sent in its own agents to administer it; or to call that system one of constitutional freedom under which it should be equally admissible to allow the people full control in their local affairs or no control at all.

No longer novel or original is the course followed by exploiting power or wealth. When a bill like the Traction

Law appears in a subservient legislature, the cunning men behind it know they must not be content with the easy victory before the people's representatives, but they must look to the future to prevent any overthrow of their will by an indignant and outraged public. To them representative government (that is, where they control the representatives) is not a mere fetish, a shibboleth to conjure with, but a palpitating necessity of their profit. They and their allies of the press frown upon popular expression, no words can adequately express their contempt for the idea that the people should pass upon what most intimately concerns them. Reaction depriving the people of what is theirs requires reaction precluding the possibility of the people righting the wrong.

When it was certain the Traction Bill would pass, it was prophesied by the experienced that this sort of spoliation would be followed by the endeavor to curtail the political rights of the people, and the events immediately following the passage of the Bill justified the prediction. No sooner had the Act been put through than an attack was made upon the direct primary. While in all its phases the direct primary was not destroyed, it was limited in its scope and rendered much less efficacious. The old stock arguments, which have been so often disproved, were utilized to the full in the very short period of discussion. The expense of the direct primary system, the fact that occasionally men were nominated who might not possess the highest qualifications, the difficulties that always beset popular expression, were magnified; and the same individuals who appropriated that which belongs to all who compose the government, sought to take from them, too, their one political weapon of defense. The rebuke of the passage of the railroad law should be no less stern than the rebuke of the endeavor to destroy the direct primary. The argument against direct nominations resolves itself finally into suspicion of the electorate and distrust of democracy itself. Analyzed, it is, that the voters have intelligence

enough to elect their officials, but are utterly lacking in sufficient intelligence to select them. The men and women of a party have been endowed with the ability and the discrimination to choose delegates to a convention, who in turn choose candidates for them; but they do not possess the ability and the discrimination to choose these candidates for themselves in the first instance.

The direct primary, of course, has its faults, but, after all, it is democracy. The Convention system has its faults of another character, much more menacing to our institutions. Whatever may be the ills resulting from direct nominations, they represent the will of the electorate. And, under our system, the people have the right to decide their own fate politically—the right not only in elections, but the right in nominations too.

And just a word may be permitted concerning such laws as the Traction Law, and that impairing the direct primary. There is only one way in which the people may be protected from them. In the hot enthusiasms of personal candidacies it is difficult at times to separate issues. Upon mere personalities may turn the event, and because personal passions and prejudices may have their part in elections, often momentous questions affecting the people may be undecided or forgotten. The disinterested should seek some remedy against iniquitous exploiting laws and those which deprive voters of their political rights. There is a remedy, and an effective remedy. It is the initiative and referendum. If New York State had the initiative and referendum, no public official would dare espouse, no legislature would dare pass such a traction law; and if a legislature were so far recalcitrant, under a referendum, the remedy would be speedy and certain. The objection to the initiative and referendum are substantially the objections to direct nominations. The people haven't sense enough, it is insisted, to pass upon laws most intimately concerning them. The Assemblyman from the most remote county in the State of New York, and the Senator from the least

populous district, neither of which may be within shotgun distance of a trolley line, may intelligently pass upon the street railway problems of New York City; but according to the distinguished gentlemen who arrogate to themselves the right to govern the rest of us, the people of New York City are utterly devoid of the business acumen, or the intelligent discrimination with which the country legislator is so richly endowed. Give New York the initiative and referendum and there will be an end of legislative interference with New York City, an end of spoliation of its people.

And so in the present campaign of the Empire City of the World, those who turn from mere personalities or individual candidacies, may whole-heartedly devote themselves to real and vital issues affecting not only their property but their daily lives, to fundamental principles, the destruction of which makes a mockery of democracy.

SMOKE

By CHARLES MCMORRIS PURDY

Dead, for a god they thought was right.
Four dark men on a winter's night,
"Woe, oh, woe!"—Life, fleeting, slipped. . . .
By the time that the fourth a prayer had lipped,
"Woe, oh, woe!" was his sad refrain;
Then the third man sung a song of the rain,
"Woe, oh, woe!" (like an evil trance).
And the second crooned as he danced a dance,
"Woe, oh, woe!" was four men's wail;
The first spoke low, and he told of a tale,
And their heads began to nod;
And they stared and they stared till the smoke was thin,
And an incense pot was their god,
Four dark men on a winter's night,

AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

PESSIMISTS as to American politics, those who believe with the late Senator Ingalls that purity in Politics is an iridescent dream, have been wont to point out the English Parliamentary system as one free from the errors, faults, and deficiencies that mark our own system. In recent years there had been some agitation to place our Cabinet ministers in Congress, presumably in the Senate, in order that they might be subject to interpellation on matters pertaining to their respective departments. The English system has been the subject of much discussion, principally by those who knew little about it—but now come two volumes by an Englishman on the English Parliament that give us the opportunity to see just what is this system that is so frequently held up to us as a model.

The differences between the English and American peoples in their attitude toward their respective governments is the difference that naturally exists between a people who glory in their traditions and one that has been brought up to glory in its future. The Englishman is proud of his ancestors, the American of the fact that the chief magistrate of the country may some day be selected from his family. European critics for generations have laughed at the simplicity of a people who asked the travelers to our shores what they thought of us. Childishly eager for praise or approval, the American for years has welcomed the slightest friendly gesture from any foreign critic, especially the British.

There was no snobbery in that—it was the youthful nation, eager to be right and to be great, sincerely believing in the truth of the much quoted dictum of Horace Wallace Binney that foreign opinion was that of a contemporaneous posterity.

The English attitude has been the reverse, and what

foreign critics had to say, especially American critics, has hardly even amused them. Dr. John H. Finley, the poet and educator, tells of making a pleasant speech in London and receiving an anonymous postcard the next day stating, "We don't need you to patronize us." Col. I. N. Lewis, the inventor of the Lewis gun, a genuine admirer of England, tells of a luncheon in his honor at which the host in introducing him to a distinguished peer, stated, with something of a glow, that Col. Lewis through his gun was responsible for the destruction of more of the German enemy than any other individual—something like two hundred and fifty thousand Germans.

"Very interesting," commented his Lordship, "pass the salt."

Sir Ashley Sparks, the very able resident director in America of the Cunard Line, recently told a group of American Rhodes scholars who were his guests at dinner, that it was a tribute to the lovableness of the American character that in two months they had found themselves at home in Oxford, the usual thing in England being for people who moved into a community to be known as "the new people" for twenty-five years.

In "The Pageant of Parliament," by Michael MacDonagh, it is refreshing for an American to learn that Parliament has been described as "inefficient and corrupt," and that "the authority of Parliament and the esteem in which it is held have sadly declined." This, of course, will come with a shock to those critics of our own Congress who believe that it is only American institutions that are on the downward path.

It was Edmund Burke who said that it ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. It is only in New York and the New England States that we find the old Tory or Federalist idea that the judgment of the representatives is superior to the judgment of those who selected them; those holding to this theory forgetting that

the representative system, as this author so well points out, is a check not on the people, but, for the people.

That our system has never been quite as corrupt as the English system is shown by the fact that when the eloquent auctioneer offered the notorious borough of Batton with its estate and its mansions and two M.P.'s, he set out:

"No claims of insolvent electors to evade,"
"No impossible promises to make,"
"No tinkers' wives to kiss."

As late as 1880 Parliament faced ninety-five petitions, including corruptions, bribery, intimidation, personation of dead or absent voters, and "most of them were sustained."

Even under reformed conditions, there was corruption by unscrupulous candidates who would get possession of the writs of election, and by corrupting the messenger of the Great Seal, hasten the election and thus forestall opposition. It was not until 1858 that the Property Qualification, which made a seat in the House of Commons the privilege of the rich, was abolished. Even then the electorate was restricted to householders, and as late as 1906, Mr. Austen Chamberlain had to vote as a liveryman in the employ of a company in London as he had no standing because of his being a resident of his father's house.

Rowdyism at the poles has long been a characteristic of English elections. The author quotes Bernard Osborn as admitting that he had frequently hired prize-fighters and that "one of his most efficient supporters in Nottingham was a man who was always clothed as a clergyman of the Church of England, but who was really an ex-champion of England—Bendigo by name." When John Stuart Mill stood as a candidate he was pelted with dead cats and garbage by the porters of Covent Garden.

Independence is not tolerated in the House of Commons. Party discipline is so strict that the man who wanders not only is jeered at when he speaks, but is black-listed. As an example of the impartiality of the speaker, let us quote the writer:

On March twentieth, 1902, Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, speaking on the concluding stages of the South African War, quoted a saying of Vilonel, the Boer General, that the enemies of South Africa were those who were continuing a hopeless struggle. "He is a traitor," interjected John Dillon, the Irish Nationalist, and Chamberlain retorted: "The honorable gentleman is a good judge of traitors." Dillon appealed to the Chair whether the expression of the Colonial Secretary was not unparliamentary. "I deprecate interruptions and retorts," replied Mr. Speaker Gully, "and if the honorable gentleman had not himself interrupted the right honorable gentleman, he would not have been subjected to retort." "Then I desire to say that the right honorable gentleman is a damned liar!" exclaimed Dillon. He was thereupon "named" by the Speaker, and on the motion of Arthur Balfour, was suspended from the service of the House. On May seventh, J. J. Mooney, a member of the Irish Party, moved that the Speaker ought to have ruled that the words applied by the Colonial Secretary to Dillon were unparliamentary, and accordingly have directed Chamberlain to withdraw them. On a division, the action of the Chair was supported by three hundred and ninety-eight votes to sixty-three, or a majority of three hundred and thirty-five.

To the Editor of The Forum:

Leonard Liebling's article in the August FORUM, deploring what he deems the low musical taste of American newspapers, referred twice to The Associated Press. Both references are absolute misstatements of facts.

He first attributes to us the distribution throughout the United States of a half-column article vulgarly describing the mishap to a singer's dress on the stage of the Metropolitan Opera House.

He next carelessly blames The Associated Press for circulating all over the United States an equally vulgar report of an alleged quarrel and physical encounter on the same stage between Geraldine Farrar and Caruso.

The Associated Press gave to its nearly 1,300 daily newspapers not one line relating to either of these alleged affairs. It endeavors not to deal in such trivialities. It does not regard it as flattering to have anything which appears in any newspaper attributed to The Associated Press.

Is it too much to ask that THE FORUM tell its readers that Mr. Liebling in his article altogether misrepresents The Associated Press?

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK ROY MARTIN,

July 29, 1921. *General Manager.*

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—Robt E. MacAlarney.

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DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BOOKS

THE CRIME OF KOREA*

SELDEN P. SPENCER.

THIS book is the cry of a broken heart—the record of a tragic history—the hope of a future of justice and independence.

Korea is so old in years that her generations had long since passed, even before the power of nomenclature to designate this country the United States was born. By a strange coincidence it was the United States that first led this patriarch of the nations, after more than four thousand years of seclusion, out into the dazzling light of international relations—and the dazzlnig light has for the time blinded her.

Japan was enabled to see the exceeding value of Korea—as an entrance to China and Siberia—as a fertile home for the surplus of Japan's millions—as an asset to Japan's wealth; and first she wooed, and then she threatened, and then she took, and now she holds, Korea—always by force.

How it was done—the attendant breaches of faith—the atrocious murders—the studied and continued brutalities—the enforced ignorance, are all told in this book by one who knows.

Americans ought to read it—once read, it will never be forgotten—not read, there is a real loss of knowledge of historical matter unequalled in pathos and tragedy and hope.

Korea is rich in treaties, and a pauper in their fulfillment by other nations.

When the United States in 1883, by treaty solemnly agreed with Korea that at any time in the future: "If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either government, the other will exert their good offices on being informed of the case to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings"—both nations knew well enough that Korea could never, in all probability, be able to help the United States. The reciprocal covenant of help was inserted to recognize the pride of Korea in her most ancient government, but to Korea the treaty was her strength, her most treasured national possession, her safe conduct in the unknown journeys before her. Was she not befriended by the greatest Republic on earth?

* "THE CASE OF KOREA," by Henry Chung, A.M., Ph.D., Member of Korean Commission to America and Europe. Fleming H. Revell Company.

What mattered the million millions of Chinese on the one hand, or the envious designs of Japan—looking with eagerness across the Japanese Sea?

There was nothing to be feared!

If either should "deal unjustly or oppressively" with this once "Hermit Nation," now timidly crossing the crowded thoroughfare of the world, a single cry of distress would instantly bring the "good offices" of "the great country" that knew the ways of the world, and that had promised that its "good offices" should ever be exerted "to bring about an amicable arrangement."

The absolute trust of Korea in this treaty, which by the way she has never broken, is pathetic.

It was the absolute reliance of the little child upon the strength and love of the father. Nothing could harm Korea since she had the friendship of the United States.

Alas and alack! We, of the United States, have seen the whole sad picture, and perhaps regretted it—but in silence, and have gone on our way with seemingly more important things to attend to, while our trusting friends (about twenty million of them)—so simple as to think that a promise is a promise, have been swallowed up—by Japan.

Look at the dates! American treaty with Korea in 1883—a recognition of the independence and territorial integrity of Korea by both Japan and China in the Shimonoseki treaty between them—a recognition brought about by the intervention of the United States.

When later Japan needed Korean territory as a means of access to China in the Japan-China War, she expressly put her demand for such territory on the ground that she desired to "maintain the independence of Korea," but when the war was over and the alleged necessity of Korean occupation had entirely ended, Japan refused to leave.

The much revered Queen Min of Korea persistently and vigorously opposed this continued Japanese occupation of her country. Her opposition resulted only in her own murder by the Japanese.

This murder of Queen Min was too raw an exhibition of force. As the facts became known, the Western world was horrified. There was an immediate easing up by Japan in Korea.

In 1896, the following year, Japan agreed, but it was only an agreement, that she would withdraw her troops from Korea as soon as it could be done with safety to Japanese residents in Korea—for the "mild" Koreans had become dangerous avengers in their grief and indignation at the murder of their queen.

In 1898, Japan agreed with Russia to recognize "the sovereignty and entire independence of Korea."

In 1902, Japan agreed with Great Britain that "the territorial integrity of Korea" should be respected, and declared that she had no "aggressive tendencies" toward Korea.

In 1904 when Japan declared war on Russia, she urgently proclaimed that the "integrity of Korea" was a "matter of greatest concern to the Empire."

The integrity of Korea evidently was a matter of the greatest concern to the Japanese Empire, but in an unfortunate sense for Korea, for in spite of all these treaty obligations and definite agreements, and in spite of the fact that Japan in February, 1904, expressly agreed with Korea that "the Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire," this is what happened:

First, Japan in August, 1904, forced Korea to engage as financial and diplomatic advisers "Japanese subjects," recommended by the Japanese, and not to conclude "treaties or conventions with foreign powers" without consulting the Japanese Government.

Then in April, 1905, Korea was forced to surrender to Japan the postal telegraph and telephone service of Korea.

Later on in the same year, a Japanese protectorate was forced over Korea by a series of tragic conferences and threats that thrill with indignation the heart of the Anglo-Saxon as they are read.

A poor feeble-minded Korean prince who was "non compos mentis" was for a time put upon the throne by Japan in 1907, with the form of power, but without the slightest substance of authority—until in 1910—Korea was finally annexed to the Japanese Empire, and the transaction long deferred, but never out of the Japanese mind, was completed.

"The Case of Korea," or as it might well be called, "The Rape of Korea," has also to tell of the formation of the "Korean Republic"—its wonderful support by the Korean people—its secret development—its undying hope that justice may yet be demanded for Korea by the nations of the world—but with the greatest hope through a faith that nothing has been able to destroy, that this demand will come first through the United States of America.

PARIS OF YESTERDAY*

R. STUART HENRY knows perfectly France and the French. He has studied the French literature and he understands it. He lived in France and he noticed all he saw. It is the result of this study and observation that he gives us in his book—a collection of chronicles about varied subjects whose connection is that they all belong to France. They

* "FRENCH ESSAYS AND PROFILES," by Stuart Henry. E. P. Dutton, $2.50.

are not less interesting because of their diversity—and certainly not because of their selection.

Mr. Stuart Henry depicts some celebrated notables of past and present time, who have held or hold a large place in the literary and artistic life of France—novelists and authors, actors and dancers.

We have a complete and accurate study of Leconte de Lisle—man and poet—chief of the Parnassian school—admirer of ancient Greece, and advocate of the Classic school as opposed to the Romantic—the latter, of which Victor Hugo was the promoter, being greatly in vogue at the time he lived. It was a singular coincidence later, when Leconte de Lisle, elected to the seat of Victor Hugo in the "Académie Française," praised as was the custom his predecessor, while he opposed his theories.

Mr. Henry tells much about Madame Mennessier Nodier—"daughter of the French Romantics." She lived in the circle of the first followers of romanticism, who held meetings at the home of her husband, Charles Nodier, and for many of whom she was the poetic muse.

An account of the brilliant era of the French ballet in the last century reviews all the famous dancers and their style, from Taglioni to Mauri, who is today dance instructor of the Opera. At this time the English chorus girls were not yet in great favor in Paris, and the Russian ballets, which represent the new art of dancing, were unknown.

When Mr. Henry was in Fontainebleau, the magnificent shadows of the famous wood suggested to him a study of the Sociological rôle of the forest. Fontainebleau! Napoleon's palace where, at the height of his power, he held the Pope prisoner, and where, when defeated, he addressed the pathetic adieux to his faithful guards. Admirable views of the forest that have suggested pictures—master-pieces—to great artists like Corot, Millett, and Théodore Rousseau.

We do not think as Mr. Henry when he explains the reasons of the failure of "Hedda Gabler" in Paris by the difference in spirit of the Scandinavians and the French. It is only a question of vogue and epoch. At the time "Hedda Gabler" was shown in Paris, Ibsen was not yet known and appreciated—while now he is in great favor, especially since the French have an author who compares to him, M. François de Curel. Wagner experienced the same hard luck in France before his music was admired there.

In the "Profiles," we have, among others, well informed accounts of Jules Claretie who was, for more than a quarter of a century, Administrateur Géneral of the Comédie Française; François Coppée, the generous poet of the humble, Gyp, grand niece of Mirabeau, the sketch of whom is a pleasant caricatural satire of the manners of the upper strata of society; Jules Lamaître, critic and author, Frédéric Mistral, singer of beautiful Provence; Pierre Loti, bewitching author of such multi-colored writing,

Dumas the elder, powerful and animated novelist; Dumas the younger, author of the immortal "Dame Aux Camélias," etc.

It was a great pleasure to me—a Frenchman—to read "French Essays and Profiles." It is full of the charming atmosphere of America—a country the French admire for its course of life and thought.

—ALBERT LIEBERFIELD.

THE ALMANAC DE GOLGOTHA*

HENRY H. KLEIN, in the latest of his series of illuminating works*, by putting dollar signs and figures after the names of those who usually have their places in the Social Register, has produced an arresting picture of economic America—a picture which reflects something truly sinister. Without argument or rhetoric, with nothing but cold, uncompromising facts, set down for the most part as lists and not as paragraphs, he proves to what an extent this country is in the grip of a few families and how far we have left behind us the idea of Government of, for and by the people.

A much less valuable book would have been produced had an attempt been made to "fill in" with nicely rounded phrases. The result, as the author no doubt realized, would have been the production of the usual, hollow rantings of the soap-box orator. Instead, we have a work which beyond doubt would have travelled in the bag of Theodore Roosevelt.

Mr. Klein not only indicates an ulcer in our economic organism, but at the same time he points out what he believes to be the cure for it. The excessive concentration of wealth in few hands he would cure by limiting personal fortunes and by effectively checking monopolies. He begins with a list of the Dynastic Rulers of America and then proceeds to list overlarge estates recently inherited and still growing. Next he shows how the various industries, such as that of steel, copper, oil, beef, railroads, coal, and so on, are closely held and controlled. The control of our public banks is not overlooked nor is that of our public utilities. There is nothing new in all of this, but the manner in which it has been brought together is not only novel but very useful, since the work must stand as an authoritative and comprehensive guide, excellent for ready reference, for those who are in any way interested in matters of public welfare.

With regard to the cure for the evil he indicates, he says in part:

"Why should not the constitution be amended to cure a fundamental economic ill? Why should it not be amended to limit excessive private fortunes so that all may again prosper? Why should it not be amended to continue peace and prosperity in the United States? If private fortunes

* "DYNASTIC AMERICA AND THOSE WHO OWN IT," by Henry H. Klein.

are limited, so that the surplus or excess goes back to the nation, the government representing all the people, becomes the principal stockholder and bondholder in all monopoly, in place of the Few. As principal stockholder and bondholder in monopolistic corporations, the government can fix the price of commodities, establish the rate of wages, and otherwise direct Big Business in the interest of all the people, including the small stockholders. Big Business is now conducted mainly for the benefit of the few largest stockholders."

The purpose of these paragraphs is not to question the remedy which Mr. Klein sets forth so much as to indicate the nature of the cure. The Few Stockholders will quarrel with his ideas, so will the socialists, the single taxers, and those who do not think at all. However, if the work serves no other purpose it will at least stand at the cross roads where meet all who sense the obviously wrong direction in which the country is drifting and it will clearly mark that direction. This is a good service and one which has made the effort worth while.

GABRIEL S. YORKE.

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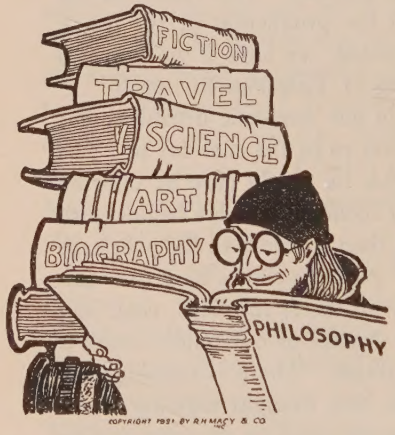

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